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ABSTRACT

This subcommittee hearing report presents testimony of television network officials, academic researchers, and consumer representatives concerning the social and behavioral effects of portrayed violence on television, especially as it relates to children. It also provides documents used as attachments to the oral testimony and written statements submitted for the record. The network attachments include prime-time violence tabulations for the 1980-81 season, a research paper on television violence, and an exchange of views on the violence index; consumer group attachments include newsletters, a brochure on television viewing, and a summary of TV programming for children. (RAA)

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SOCIAL/BEHAVIORAL EFFECTS OF VIOLENCE ON TELEVISION

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HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON TELECOMMUNICATIONS, CONSUMER PROTECTION, AND FINANCE

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND COMMERCE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

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SOCIAL/BEHAVIORAL EFFECTS OF VIOLENCE ON TELEVISION

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1981

House of Representatives,
Subcommittee on Telecommunications,
Consumer Protection, and Finance,
Committee on Energy and Commerce,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 9 a.m., in room 2322, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Timothy E. Wirth (chairman) presiding.

Mr. Wirth. If the subcommittee could please come to order, this morning we hold hearings on the very important issue of the social and behavioral effects of violence on television.

This subcommittee has had a longstanding concern with the causal relationship between televised violence and the manifestation of aggressive and violent behavior among members of the television viewing public, particularly children.

When this subcommittee last examined this issue in 1977, culminating in a subcommittee report, which was extremely controversial at that time, I was concerned with the role of the networks on providing excessively violent programing and the harmful effects of such programing on society.

As the father of two young children, I continue to be particularly concerned with the amount of televised violence to which the Nation's young are exposed and the detrimental effects it clearly can have on their behavioral development.

The subcommittee's focus over the last several months has been primarily on issues relating to economic competition and regulation. These are vitally important issues to address as we look toward encouraging the development of a telecommunications industry which will provide the viewer of tomorrow with a high degree of choice and diversity so that there can be numerous alternatives available, unlike the case with the viewer of today who may find his limited viewing options often distasteful or objectionable.

In addition to questions of economic competition though, we cannot lose sight of the vast social impact television has on society, and thus it is important that we return to an examination of this critical issue of the effects of violence on television.

It must be kept in mind, however, that while Congress clearly has a duty to explore the problem of the excessive viewing of televised violence, in dealing with the area of program content there are significant constraints imposed by the first amendment to the Constitution as to any governmental action in this area.

I want to commend my colleague, Congressman Ron Mottl, who has been instrumental in arranging these hearings and seeing to it that this subcommittee continues to provide a forum for dialog among interested parties so that viable solutions to the problems connected with the effects of televised violence may be found.

Congressman Mottl has demonstrated a profound concern for the problem of violence throughout American society. I want to thank him for his willingness to agree to chair these hearings this morning, and I also want to thank today's witnesses for taking time from their busy schedules to be with us.

Mr. MOTTL. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Let me say that this hearing certainly could not be possible without your concern and interest in this vital issue.

My compliments to you and your able subcommittee staff for the hard work that was put into organizing this very important forum.

Today we will take a look into one of the most pervasive influences in today's society and that is television. We will gather opinions from leading authorities in the field on what causal effects, if any, violence on television has on later aggressive behavior by children and adults.

There have been arguments advanced that this is strictly an issue of viewer discretion—that someone can simply choose to turn off the television set if he or she feels the programing is too violent.

However, if much of the research study done in this area is correct, the person who turned off the violent program might still become a victim of it.

He or she could be at the mercy of aggressive behavior by another viewer who chose to watch repeated acts of gratuitous violence and was adversely affected by seeing them. This is one of the major reasons why I asked this subcommittee to hold this hearing.

We as policymakers must also be acutely aware of the first amendment issues associated with the regulation of content and we must fully recognize the restraint in legislative and regulatory activity imposed by the first amendment and section 326 of the Communications Act, which prohibits Government censorship of broadcasting.

Simply by providing a forum to study and coordinate information available on the effects of violent programing, we are taking a big step in the right direction toward remedying the problem.

It is frightening that this Nation is in the midst of a crime epidemic that has become so prevalent and recurrent each year that it is vitually being accepted by the American public as part of our way of life.

Many factors, including poverty, unemployment, family breakdowns and a host of social ills have been cited for today's unprecedented crime epidemic, but excessively violent television programing has also been targeted by critics as a cause of this malady.

The pervasiveness of the television medium is evidenced by the fact that the average American views 30 hours of television a week. A TV set is on about 6.5 hours a day in the average home. On the day of high school graduation, the average student has already spent 4,000 more hours in front of the TV set than in the classroom.

Critics of television programing complain of a high amount of gratuitous violence and aggressive acts on TV. The average high school graduate has been exposed to 18,000 television murders.

These acts of violence are often portrayed in unreal life situations devoid of trauma, fear, pain, remorse and sorrow, therefore they provide an unreal and deceptive view of violence that inhibits sensitivity against such violent acts.

Obviously in view of the easily accessible influence of television and the growing number of research studies that show a correlation between violence on TV and in society, it is incumbent upon this subcommittee to take a look at the social behavioral effects of violence on television.

In this and past years I have been active with a comprehensive legislative program to combat violence in society ranging from Federal penalties for outrageous acts of violence by professional athletes to mandatory longer sentences with no probation and no parole for use of a gun in the commission of a felony.

I have also called for use of capital punishment for heinous crimes. I welcome the opportunity to participate in these hearings as we look at what the authorities and research studies in the field have found in regard to the effects of watching violent televised shows. Does any other member have a statement to make at this time?

Mr. MOTTL. Mr. Marks?

Mr. MARKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate the opportunity of being here. It wasn't too long ago we participated in hearings similar to these in an effort to try to find out what effect, if any, violence on television has on not only our young people, but the citizenry generally.

I note in looking at the list of witnesses that some of the same people that were at the first hearing are back again. We look forward to hearing them and seeing whether or not perhaps their views have changed somewhat.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WIRTH. Again, as Mr. Mottl pointed out and as I pointed out, there is a very delicate line here between inquiry, discussion, responsibility on the part of the networks and the first amendment issues.

We try to tread that line.

In 1977 Congressman Waxman and I, as well as others, were the authors of a report related to the causes and roots of violence on television, which was a highly controversial piece of work.

That report never saw the light of day with any teeth to it, but I think that that illustrates the controversy surrounding this issue, and it perhaps also illustrates our continuing concern for greater responsibility being exercised by those who are presenting to the American public as much programing as they receive—particularly when that programing is as violent as it may be.

Our first witness this morning is Mr. Ted Turner, president of Turner Broadcasting System, Inc., from Atlanta.

Mr Turner, welcome. We are delighted to have you here. Please join us, if you will.

Mr. Mottl. Mr. Chairman, may I also join at this time in welcoming Mr. Ted Turner, president and chairman of the board of Turner Broadcasting System.

Mr. Turner, one of the great innovators of the rapidly changing telecommunications industry, has broken new ground in programing with the all-news format of the Cable News Network.

He has been consistent and unrelenting in his own efforts against excessives violent television programing.

Welcome.

STATEMENT OF R. E. TURNER III, PRESIDENT, TURNER COMMUNICATIONS CORP.

Mr. Turner. Mr. Chairman, members of the subcommittee, my name is Ted Turner. I am president and chairman of the board of Turner Broadcasting System.

I appreciate this opportunity to testify before you on the behavioral effects of violence on television.

I would like to say after reading over the prepared statements of some of the witnesses that were available yesterday, I felt these hearings were of such importance to the American people that we worked late into the night preparing to cover these hearings live, not only on Cable News Network, which reaches some 9.5 million homes, but also on the super station WTBS, which reaches over 18 million homes.

So over 25 percent of the people in the United States will have the opportunity to see these hearings in their entirety today, and if they go on beyond this, we will televise the balance of it live.

Unfortunately, we were not able to get this schedule in the newspapers because the decision was made last night to televise, but I am sure we do have a substantial audience out there across this wonderful country that will have an opportunity to see these deliberations today.

I would like to start by reading a short letter from a viewer that is typical of thousands of letters that I receive during the year from viewers across the country.

Enclosed with it is a small newspaper article, clipping, that I am going to read and then I will read this letter.

Then I will deliver my statement.

The headline is "More Mindless Junk."

> Ted Turner, head of Cable News Network and superstation WTBS, Atlanta, has continued his attack on the television networks.
>
> In a recent talk at the Rochester Institute of Technology in Rochester, New York, he asked students, "What is the point of going to college, spending a lot of money and time getting an education and then have your mind turned to water with all the mindless junk that the networks are putting on?" But he admitted that the networks occasionally do something good.
>
> It is impossible to be bad all the time. Even Adolph Hitler was nice to his dog.
>
> Speaking to the Milwaukee Advertising Club last week, Turner blamed television for a 400 percent increase in crime in the last twenty years.

This letter is from Francis Palmer. The letter is short.

> Dear Mr. Turner: Read your comments to the Rochester Institute while visiting in Denver. Your point was well made. Having put three kids through college, Georgia's own Georgia Tech and Notre Dame Law School, I quite agree that most network TV is diseased and pathetically, addictively contagious at that.

It is a pleasure to see entrepeneurs like yourself with the will and staying power to produce television programs. Don't let go.

We can be thankful TV has taught our kids how to deal, cut cocaine, pimp, waste someone; what ever happened to the good old-fashioned killer? Murder, mug, violate and all the other assorted TV sports?

Without TV and media sensationalism they might never have known anything but decency, respect and working for a living.

I don't especially consider myself a do-gooder and will never turn the world around, still I cry a little inside when someone burns my flag and think it is great when a guy with a few bucks takes a look around and speaks out.

Mr. Mottl. Mr. Turner, that letter will be made part of the record without objection.

[The information follows:]

Mr. Turner. Gentlemen, I am going to make a strong statement and strong accusations, because I feel that our society is threatened.

Mr. Marks. Mr Turner, that is nothing unusual for you to do.

Mr. Turner. Thank you, Mr. Marks.

A large portion—incidentally, you have my prepared written statement which was done primarily in conjunction with lawyers.

I wrote this last night after reading the testimony of the other more expert witnesses that I think will appear later in the day.

Mr. Mottl. Your prepared statement will be made part of the record without objection.

Mr. Turner. A large portion of our populace is sick and the major culprits are the tremendous television networks and the motion picture companies that make the horrible movies and TV programs that are turning our young people into a society of lawbreakers, murderers, drug addicts, and perverts.

They glorify violence, illicit sex, reckless driving, materialism, and just plain stupidity.

Their entertainment programs make a mockery of all our institutions that have made our Nation the greatest, freest, best governed, most prosperous, and most generous the world has ever seen.

For at least the last 10 years their programing has become antifamily, antireligion, antilaw, antieducation, antibusiness and antigovernment.

They have sold us down the river to fatten their pocketbooks. They were given their use of the public's airwaves with a promise and understanding that they would use our airwaves to serve the public interest.

It can and will be proven beyond reasonable doubt here if enough time and study is given to the problem that they have done just the opposite.

The network television licenses should immediately be revoked and given to someone else who will use our airwaves for the furtherance of the public good. This will not interfere with the first amendment in any way.

Although if the authors of the Bill of Rights could see what has happened, they would, like I, and so many millions of others who love this country, be sickened by what the television and motion picture industry has done to this Nation.

Our Founding Fathers were talking about the written private press and free speech among individuals and groups. There was no television or motion picture industry 200 years ago, nor was one even envisioned at that time.

No newspaper or group of papers could have had the destructive effect that television networks have caused.

Thank God it is not too late. While there's life, there's hope.

Our Nation is still alive. Countless millions of our citizens have awakened to the damage these enemies of our civilization have done and are doing. You will hear some of their representatives here later today. I have read their written statements; Mr. Radecki in particular touched me deeply. I agree with him nearly 100 percent.

I have been a broadcaster and seen with my own eyes what has been happening. We can change and we must change. Crime is up 400 percent in the last 20 years.

It is accepted. The President gets shot. Mr. Sadat, even the Pope.

American television programs and movies are distributed all over the free world. The "Dukes of Hazzard," "Dallas," "Three's Company" show our Nation and our people much worse than we really are.

No wonder our foreign friends around the world hold us in such low esteem.

Gentlemen, only our Government can save us from this terrible threat to our society.

America can last another 200 years. Let's in the future use the electronic media wisely and constructively, not foolishly, as we have in the past.

Let's not commit national suicide. I have made this same basic speech recently before the Veterans of Foreign Wars, who presented me with their media award last month in Philadelphia.

When I asked the night before at dinner with their leaders in my acceptance speech if I could attack the networks, they said, "You go get 'em, Ted. That's why we gave you the award in the first place."

This is the Veterans of Foreign Wars, 5,000 people. They gave me a 5-minute standing ovation. That is not any religious group. Those are the men that fought and risked their lives for our Nation during the past wars that we fought.

The people that make and present these programs make them to sell, not to watch.

Recently I made a speech to the Hollywood Radio and TV Society. There were more than 1,000 people in the room, the largest crowd they had ever had.

These were the people that make those shows. I was introduced by the new president of ABC. I asked them to raise their hands if they were regular viewers of the "Dukes of Hazzard." I ask this group here to do the same.

Who in this room is a regular viewer of the "Dukes of Hazzard?" That is one of the highest rated shows in the country.

One. Good. You are probably with CBS, aren't you?

The only person that raised his hand there was the president of Warner Bros., that makes that crummy program.

How about "Dallas"? Who is a regular viewer of "Dallas"?

"Three's Company"?

Not one.

The groups crying out for a cure to our national diseases are not just the Southern Baptists, by any means. They include the VFW, and even most recently the Catholics and the Knights of Columbus, who recently came our publicly with a boycott threat of their own.

Many television and network executives have told me privately that they agree with me, but what can they do?

The station manager of one of the affiliated stations in Atlanta, Ga., my hometown, told me privately that his own children were forbidden to watch his station.

The networks will say if people don't like the shows, they can just turn them off. What a joke.

Children are impressionable and can't make that decision. Television is habit-forming and has created millions upon millions of addicts to those terrible programs.

We didn't expect the German people to unelect Hitler. He had to be destroyed by outside action.

Only our Government can save us from this perverse and damaging plague. We gave them control of our airwaves 30 years ago. They have brutally misused them.

Take these licenses back, please, for the sake of our future.

After careful defining of what we mean by the public interest and careful thought on your part, these licenses could then be auctioned off to the highest bidder the same way we set standards for oil leasing of the public lands that may contain oil and sell these licenses to the highest bidder with stringent requirements of what kind of—what we mean by the public interest, so that they can't do what has been done in the past.

By my estimate half a trillion dollars could be raised that way. We could pay off the national debt and cut out inflation rates down accordingly. There is no reason television licenses should be given away free any more than you would give Exxon the right to drill in Alaska or off our shores.

We will be able to reduce the national debt substantially in the process.

Thank you for giving me this opportunity to testify.

I will try and answer any questions you may have.

[Mr. Turner's prepared statement and attachment follow:]

Testimony of R. E. Turner, III
President
Turner Communications Corporation

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Subcommittee, my name is Ted Turner. I am President and Chairman of the Board of Turner Broadcasting System. I appreciate this opportunity to testify before you on the Behavioral Effects of Violence on Television.

Your interest in this issue is understandable and commendable. The prevalence of violence in our society has reached truly epidemic proportions. As noted recently by President Reagan, one murder is committed every 30 minutes; and 778 burglaries, 194 assaults and 134 robberies are committed every hour in this country. Clearly, we are facing a major problem.

The causes of violence in society are undoubtedly numerous and complex. Nevertheless, the single most significant factor contributing to violence in America, I believe, is the widespread and continued depiction and glamorization of gratuitous violence in movies and network television programming.

Documented by over 10 years of study by government commissions and behavioral scientists in leading universities, the correlation between television violence and real violence has been proven beyond reasonable doubt. Common sense and experience support the conclusion as well. There have been too many instances in which children or disturbed people have imitated movie or television violence. We cannot ignore or continue to deny this impact. The hijacking of airliners, the rape of a young girl in the "Born Innocent" case, the immolation of derelicts, the destruction of young boys imitating the Russian roulette scenes of the

"Deerhunter" are examples of the power of movies and television to instigate and reinforce antisocial activities.

Attached to my testimony is an article written by Cable News Network's Senior Correspondent Daniel Schorr. The article was published in this month's WASHINGTONIAN MAGAZINE and is a thorough and thoughtful analysis on the subject of television violence. More eloquently than I, Mr. Schorr documents the case against gratuitous violence in movies and television. I respectfully request that his article be included in the record with my testimony.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, a question: How do we solve the problem of television violence? Primary responsibility for this sad state of affairs must be accepted by the movie producers and the television networks. Having used the mechanism of gratuitous and glamorized violence to shock, titillate and attract audiences (and, thereby, expand profits), they are on a merry-go-round in which each successive effort must be more violent, more horrible than the last. The continuing high levels of violence in the socalled "Family Hour" period of prime-time, demonstrate that ratings continue to be more important to the networks than any sense of social responsibility.

Both the movie industry and the networks, as the first link in the production chain, must be encouraged, or forced, to exercise greater self-restraint. They must recognize their impact on society and accept, accordingly, greater responsibility for their actions.

Similarly, the broadcast station affiliates who carry movies and network programming are not without blame. They must accept their public trust and editorial responsibilities and review, and reject, unacceptable programming. Sponsors of programs have a similar responsibility to use self-restraint in their support of programs, and support only the production of acceptable programming.

Ultimately, however, the TV viewing public must also exercise restraint. The public has the power to turn off the TV set when programming is unacceptably violent. The public can boycott the products of sponsors of such programming. The public, in its parental role, *can* police children's television viewing, and *can* send the kids outside to play. Public action is necessary, not to create a tyranny of the few over the many, but to sensitize those - the producers, the networks, the sponsors, and the station owners - with the decision making power.

If this approach of self-government and self-regulation fails, there is always the possibility of government intervention. As a broadcaster, and as a publisher, such intervention gives me great cause for concern. It could undermine the First Amendment guarantees of our democratic form of government.

Yet, we know that the First Amendment is not an absolute. The Supreme Court has long recognized that television is intrusive and can have a distinct visual impact not characteristic of the print medium. This permits the imposition of selective regulation. Neither the movie industry nor the networks can escape responsibility by hiding behind the First Amendment. Therefore, they must respond to the valid public concerns raised in hearings like this and dedicate themselves to the elimination of excessive violence in television programming.

Thank you for giving me this opportunity to testify, and I would be happy to answer any questions you may have.

Go Get Some Milk and Cookies and Watch the Murders on Television

By Daniel Schorr

I believe television is going to be the test of the modern world, and that in this new opportunity to see beyond the range of our vision we shall discover a new and unbearable disturbance of the modern peace or a saving radiance in the sky. We shall stand or fall by television—of that I am quite sure.

—E.B. White (1938)

John W. Hinckley Jr. causes me to reflect, having recently turned 65, on what the media age has wrought. Hinckley's unhappy lifetime of some 26 years coincides roughly with my life in television. Whatever else made him want to shoot a President, Hinckley epitomizes the perverse effects of our violence-prone culture of entertainment.

Hinckley weaves together strands of media-stimulated fantasy, fan frenzy, and the urge to proclaim identity by starring in a televised event. His success is attested to by everything that has happened since March 30, when he managed to disrupt the regular programs listed in his copy of *TV Guide* to bring on command performances by Dan Rather, Frank Reynolds, Roger Mudd, and the other news superstars. Since November 22, 1963, these electronic special reports—the modern equivalent of the old newspaper extra—have been America's way of certifying a "historic event."

Much has been shown to Hinckley's generation to lower the threshold of resistance to violent acts. When the time came for Hinckley to act—to plug himself into this continuum of television and movie violence—the screenplay was easily written, the rolés nearly preassigned. The media-conscious "public" President, Ronald Reagan, attracted the cameras, which attracted the crowds, which provided both the arena and the cover for the assailant. The network cameras routinely assigned, since the Kennedy assassination, to "the presidential watch" recorded the "actuality" and showed it in hypnotic, incessant replays. The audience tingled to the all-too-familiar "special report" emblazoned across the screen.

To nobody's surprise, the celebration of violence stirred would-be imitators. The Secret Service recorded an astonishing number of subsequent threats on the President's life. One of them came from Edward Michael Robinson, 22, who had watched the TV coverage and later told police that Hinckley had appeared to him in a dream, telling him to "bring completion to Hinckley's reality."

Psychiatrist Walter Menninger examined Sara Jane Moore, who tried to kill President Ford in 1975, and found it no coincidence that two weeks earlier a well-publicized attempt on Ford's life had been made by Squeaky Fromme.

"There is no doubt," Dr. Menninger told me, "of the effect of the broad, rapid, and intense dissemination of such an event. The scene in front of the Washington Hilton must have been indelibly coded in everybody's mind with an immediacy that does not happen with the print media. We have learned from the studies of television that people do get influenced by what they experience on television."

The broadcasting industry says it can't help it if occasionally a disturbed person tries to act out depicted violence—fictional or actual. In 1975, a Vietnam veteran in Hyattsville, Maryland, who had told his wife, "I watch television too much," began sniping at passersby in a way he had noted during an episode of *S.W.A.T.*—and, like the fictional sniper, was killed by a police sharpshooter.

The American Medical Association reported in 1977 that physicians were telling of cases of injury from TV imitation showing up in their offices and hospitals. One doctor treated two children who, playing Batman, had jumped off a roof. Another said a child who had set fire to a house was copying an arson incident viewed on television.

No court has yet held television legally culpable for the violence it is accused of stimulating. In Florida in 1978, fifteen-year-old Ronny Zamora was convicted—after a televised trial—of killing his elderly neighbor despite the novel plea of "involuntary subliminal television intoxication." The parents of a California girl who had been sexually assaulted in 1974 in a manner depicted three days earlier in an NBC television drama lost their suit against the network.

That's as it should be. I support the constitutional right of the broadcasting industry to depict violence, just as I support *Hustler* magazine's right to depict pornography—with distaste. As Jules Feiffer, the cartoonist and civil libertarian, has noted, one sometimes finds oneself in the position of defending people one wouldn't dine with. What troubles me, as I reflect on the case of John Hinckley, is the reluctance of television to acknowledge its contribution to fostering an American culture of violence, not only by the way it presents fantasy but by the way it conveys reality—and by the way it blurs the line between the two.

Violence is one of the manifestations of the quest for identity. When you've lost your identity, you become a violent person looking for identity.

—Marshall McLuhan (1977)

In 1974 Reg Murphy, then editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* (he is now publisher of the *Baltimore Sun*), was kid-going to see another first—an attempt at suicide." Whereupon she pulled a gun out of a shopping bag and shot herself fatally in the head.

These incidents—the list could go on and on—were all aspects of the phenomenon of the mass media as grand arbiter of identity, validator of existence. Descartes might say today, "I appear on television, therefore I am."

One becomes accustomed, after working a long time in the medium, to hearing strangers remark, without elaboration, "I saw you on television!" One even gets inured to being hauled over to meet somebody's relatives. It is as though the TV personality has an existence of its own. I experienced the other side of this phenomenon in 1976 when I stopped napped. He says his abductors immediately sped to an apartment and turned on a TV set to see whether their act had made the evening news.

In 1971 prison rioters in Attica, New York, listed as a primary demand that their grievances be aired on TV.

In 1977 in Indianapolis, Anthony George Kiritsis wired a sawed-off shotgun to the neck of a mortgage company officer, led him out in front of the police and TV cameras, and yelled: "Get those goddamn cameras on! I'm a goddamn national hero!"

In 1974 in Sarasota, Florida, an anchorwoman on television station WXLT said on the air, "In keeping with Channel 40's policy of bringing you the latest in blood and guts in living color, you're broadcasting for CBS. People asked, solicitously, if everything was all right—as though, being off the air, I had ceased to be in some existential sense.

"Getting on television" has become a preoccupation of people in government, politics, and industry, not to mention all manner of single-issue advocates. Candidates will fashion their campaigns around "photo opportunities." Senators will be drawn by the presence of cameras to legislative hearings they otherwise would skip.

Many people will do almost anything to get on TV. Some will even kill.

Anthony Quainton, former head of the State Department's Office for Combating Terrorism, associates the increase in casualties during hijackings and hostage-takings with the desire of terrorists to insure news-media attention. Deliberate acts of horror—like the tossing out of slain victims—are planned as media events. On the other hand, the failure of the hijacking of a Turkish plane to Bulgaria in May was at least partly due to the fact that two of the terrorists had left the plane to give a press conference.

Sometimes the aim is to hijack television itself. When the radical Baader-Meinhof gang in West Germany kidnapped a politician in 1975 as hostage for the release of five imprisoned comrades, it forced German television to show each prisoner boarding a plane and to broadcast dictated propaganda statements. "For 72 hours we lost control of our medium," a German television executive later said.

When Arab terrorists seized the Vienna headquarters of OPEC in 1975, killing three persons and taking oil ministers hostage, the terrorists' plan called for them to occupy the building until TV cameras arrived.

A central feature of the plan of the San Francisco "Symbionese Liberation Army," which kidnapped Patricia Hearst, was the exploitation of the media—forcing radio and television to play its tapes and carry its messages.

The Hanafi Muslims' hostage-taking occupation of three locations in Washington in 1976 was a classic case of media-age terrorism. The leader, Hamaas Abdul Khaalis, spent much of his time giving interviews by telephone, while his wife checked on what was being broadcast.

"These crimes are highly contagious," warns Dr. Harold Visotsky, head of the department of psychiatry at Northwestern University. "Deranged persons have a passion for keeping up with the news and imitating it."

It does not seem to matter much if they are keeping up with "the news" or with "entertainment," for more and more the distinction is thinly drawn. A real attempt on the President's life produces a rash of threats. A prime-time drama about a bomb on an airplane produces a rash of reports of bombs on airplanes.

In all of this, television claims to be innocent—a helpless eyewitness, sometimes even a hostage. It's not that simple.

To begin with, television has helped blur the lines between reality and fantasy in the general consciousness.

Television news itself—obliged to coexist with its entertainment environment, seeking to present facts with the tools of fantasy—ends up with a dramatized version of life. Everything that goes into making a well-paced, smoothly edited "package" subtly changes reality into a more exciting allegory of events. The confusion is compounded by the use of "cinéma réalité" techniques in fictional dramas, and the modern forms of fact-and-fiction "docudramas" and "reenactments" of events.

It began to come home to me that audiences were blurring the distinction between reality and entertainment when I received telephone calls from several persons, during the 1973 Senate Watergate hearings that preempted soap operas, asking that the networks "cancel" a boring witness and "put back John Dean and his nice wife." Moreover, some friends of mine praised a "documentary" shown by NBC, *The Raid at Entebbe*, and had to be reminded that it was a reenactment.

The gradual erosion of the line between fact and fantasy, between news and theater, can have serious consequences. People slow to react to accidents and muggings may be experiencing the existential question of whether these things are really happening. A woman wrote columnist Abigail van Buren of being bound and gagged by a robber who told the victim's four-year-old boy to watch television for a while before calling for help. The child looked at TV for the next three hours, ignoring his mother's desperate efforts to get his attention. Perhaps, to the child, the show was more real than his mother's muffled screams.

Having obscured the difference between fantasy and reality, television offers incentives to people who are seeking emphatic ways of getting recognition. Innocent hand-waving, as an attention-getting device, yields to demonstrations, which in turn yield to riots.

In my own experience, covering urban unrest for CBS in the 1960s, threatening rhetoric tended to overpower moderate rhetoric and be selected for the network's *Evening News* because it made "better television." I have no doubt that television helped to build up militant blacks like Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown within the black community by giving them preferred exposure. Nonviolent leaders found themselves obliged to escalate the militancy of their own rhetoric. When Martin Luther King Jr. came to Washington in 1968 to discuss plans for the "poor people's march" that he did not live to lead, he told me he had to allude to possibilities for disruption as a way of getting media attention.

At a community meeting after the first night of rioting in the Watts area of Los Angeles in 1965, most of those who spoke appealed for calm. But a teenager who seized the microphone and called for "going after the whiteys" was featured on evening TV news programs. A moderate commented, "Look to me like he [the white man] want us to riot." Another said, "If that's the way they read it, that's the way we'll write the book."

In recent years, television news, compelled to come to terms with its own potency, has sought to enforce guidelines for coverage of group violence. Television tries to guard against being an immediate instigator of violence, but its reaction is too little and too late to overcome the cumulative consequences of a generation of depicted violence. It is like trying to control proliferation of nuclear weapons after distributing nuclear reactors over a prolonged period.

For three decades, since the time when there were 10 million TV sets in America, I have watched efforts to determine objectively the effects of televised violence while the TV industry strove to sweep the issue under the carpet.

What television hated most of all to acknowledge was that violence on TV was not incidental or accidental but a consciously fostered element in the ratings race. In 1976 David Rintels, president of the Writers Guild in Los Angeles, where most of the blood-and-guts scripts are spawned, told a congressional committee: "The networks not only approve violence on TV, they have been known to request and inspire it.

"There is so much violence on television," he said, "because the networks want it. They want it because they think they can attract viewers by it. It attracts sponsors. Affiliate stations welcome it."

A personal experience brought home to me the industry's sensitivity to the subject. In January 1969 my report for an *Evening News* telecast, summarizing the interim findings of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, was altered shortly before air time at the direction of Richard N. Salant, president of CBS News, to eliminate a comment about television. The passage cited the commission's view that while "most persons will not kill after seeing a single violent television program, . . . it is possible that many learn some of their attitudes about violence from years of TV exposure and may be likely to engage in violence." For management to override the news judgment of the "Cronkite show" was extremely rare.

Riots and assassinations would bring the issue periodically to the fore, but the research had been going on for a long time. For more than a quarter of a century social scientists have studied the effects of violence-viewing—especially on children.

At St. E's, the Patients Thought Hinckley "Was Nuts."

The average American watches television for four hours and 30 seconds every day, according to A.C. Nielsen figures. Women watch the most: four hours and 47 minutes a day. Men watch four hours and six minutes. Children age two to eleven watch three hours and 52 minutes a day, and children age twelve to seventeen watch the least: three hours and seventeen minutes.

For many Washingtonians, television is kept in its proper place and perspective: Research shows that Washingtonians read more and watch less television than residents of any other major city in the country. But television is used increasingly as a babysitter or an opiate in institutions. To find out how much television is watched by those who might have trouble discriminating between television and real life, we surveyed the TV habits at five area institutions:

At St. Elizabeths Hospital, mental patients are permitted to watch unlimited television. Social worker Helen Bergman, who deals with men and women aged 25 to 35, says the television is on in the patient lounge all day long. Patients watch soap operas during the day, and in the evening they vote when there's a conflict over which show to watch. Bergman says that many patients are upset by excessive violence, and that some of the more disturbed patients talk to the television and laugh inappropriately at it. She personally dislikes television because it discourages patient interaction. One staff member says the employees watch as much TV as the patients and would be unhappy if its use were restricted.

Patients are encouraged to watch news events, and they were particularly interested in the coverage of the Reagan shooting. Bergman recalls that one patient remarked, "Boy, was he nuts," in reference to John Hinckley.

The Cole Residence in Northeast DC is a group home for boys 16 to 18 who are awaiting trial for minor offenses. Rick Bricher, assistant administrator, says no restrictions are placed on television viewing. Bricher says the staff encourages residents to watch special programs, particularly those that focus on black issues. Sports programs are popular, as well as network programs featuring black actors, such as *The Jeffersons*. What will be watched is determined by majority rule.

Inmates at DC's Lorton Reformatory are permitted to watch unrestricted television. The set is on every day from around noon until 11 PM, except when inmates are being counted. Salanda Whitfield, a Lorton administrator, says each dormitory has a 25-inch color set and the inmates vote on what to watch. Because inmates work on different schedules, someone is watching television all the time. Soap operas, sports, police, and adventure shows are the most popular. Some of the inmates watch the local news to find out who got caught doing what, because they often know the people involved in area crime. Occasionally they speculate on who might be the perpatrator of an unsolved crime. When the Supreme Court is in session, many inmates watch the Monday-night news to see if any decisions affecting their cases have been handed down.

Whitfield says inmates admire the "flashy types" in action shows. He doesn't think Lorton inmates are sophisticated enough to pick up any new ideas from television criminals, though they might get a new "wrinkle."

Dr. Martin Stein, an administrator at the Dominion Psychiatric Treatment Center in Falls Church, says the use of television is an area of great concern to the facility's staff. The patients, primarily adolescents, are not restricted in what they watch. However, a busy schedule, which includes a full day of school, leaves little time for television. Stein adds that the center does not want to shelter patients from normal activities and that the time and effort of monitoring television could be put to better use by the staff. Like Bergman at St. Elizabeths, Stein expresses concern that television hinders patient interaction.

Stein says the patients prefer comedies such as *M*A*S*H* and *Fantasy Island* to drama and action shows. They tend to avoid programs that contain excessive violence, and become anxious when such programs are on. According to Stein, schizophrenic patients often think the television is talking to or about them or sending them special messages.

For children aged four to ten at the Fairfax Brewster School, a private school for normal students at Bailey's Crossroads, the *Dukes of Hazzard* is the overwhelmingly favorite show. Nearly all named a character on that show when asked who they would be if they could be a television character. Sports were also popular, along with *Bugs Bunny*, *Woody Woodpecker*, and *The Greatest American Hero*. The children disliked the news (boring), soap operas, and *The Incredible Hulk* (dumb). Out of seven children, only one had a parent who specified the programs she could and could not watch. Most watched some programs with their families and more than half frequently ate dinner in front of the television.

When asked the type of program he enjoyed most, one nine-year-old said he liked shows in which stuntmen were shot or pushed over cliffs because "it's neat how they don't bleed or get hurt."

—HEATHER PERRAM

- At Stanford University, Professor Albert Bandura reported that children three to six years of age whose toys were taken away after they had seen films showing aggression would be more likely to pound an inflated doll in their frustration than children who had not seen such films.
- A Canadian study by R.S. Walters and E. Llewellyn Thomas found that high school students who had viewed aggressive films were more likely than others to administer strong electric shocks to students making errors on an exam.
- An experiment conducted in Maryland for the National Institute of Mental Health found serious fights in school more common among high school students who watched violent TV programs.
- Bradley Greenberg and Joseph Dominick, studying Michigan public-school pupils, found that "higher exposure to television violence in entertainment was associated with greater approval of violence and greater willingness to use it in real life."
- Drs. Dorothy and Jerome Singer of Yale University concluded from an exhaustive series of interviews that the children who watched the most television were likely to act most aggressively in family situations. Although they could not produce a "smoking gun" that would influence the TV industry, they argued that they had eliminated every other factor that could account for the high correlation between aggressive behavior and viewing of "action-oriented" shows.
- Dr. Leonard Berkowitz of the University of Wisconsin, in two experiments ten years apart, found that third-graders watching a great many violent programs were likely to be rated by other pupils as high in aggressive behavior and that, at nineteen, most of them were still described as "aggressive" by their peers. In fact, reported Dr. Berkowitz, the amount of television viewed at the age of nine is "one of the best predictors of whether a person will be found to be aggressive in later life."

Congress took an early interest in the question of violence in TV programs. In 1952 the House Commerce Committee held hearings on excessive sex and violence on television. Senate hearings on TV violence and juvenile deliquency, conducted by Senators Estes Kefauver of Tennessee and Thomas Dodd of Connecticut, stirred episodic public interest. The hearing transcripts make a tall stack, adding up to fifteen years of congressional alarm over television, and industry reassurance that it was addressing the problem.

The controversy over television assumed a new dimension of national concern in the wake of the urban riots and assassinations of the 1960s. In 1968, after the assassination of Robert Kennedy, President Johnson named a commission, headed by Dr. Milton Eisenhower, to inquire into the causes of violence and how it might be prevented.

Between October and December 1968, the Eisenhower Commission held hearings on television, questioning social scientists and industry executives about the extent to which the medium might be the instigator or abettor of violent acts. One commission member, Leon Jaworski, later to be the Watergate prosecutor, expressed the belief that television might have "a tremendous responsibility" for violence in America.

The television networks acknowledged no such responsibility. When Commissioner Albert E. Jenner asked whether "the depiction of violence has an effect upon the viewer," Dr. Frank Stanton, president of CBS, replied: "It may or may not have. That is the question we don't have the answer to."

Nevertheless, the commission decided to formulate an answer. After a long debate—from which Lloyd N. Cutler, the executive director, disqualified himself because of his law firm's TV-industry clients—the panel declared in its final report that it was "deeply troubled by television's constant portrayal of violence . . . pandering to a public preoccupation with violence that television itself has helped to generate."

The panel's report concluded: "A constant diet of violence on TV has an adverse effect on human character and attitudes. Violence on television encourages violent forms of behavior and fosters moral and social values in daily life which are unacceptable in a civilized society. We do not suggest that television is a principal cause of violence in our society. We do suggest that it is a contributing factor."

A two-volume report of the commission's "Task Force on Mass Media and Violence" concluded that, as a short-range effect, those who see violent acts portrayed learn to perform them and may imitate them in a similar situation, and that, as a long-term effect, exposure to media violence "socializes audiences into the norms, attitudes, and values for violence."

The Eisenhower Commission's report on television had little impact—it was overshadowed in the news media by its more headline-making findings about riots, civil disobedience, and police brutality. The networks acted to reduce the violence in animated cartoons for children and killings in adult programs, and the motion-picture industry quickly compensated by increasing the incidence and vividness of its bloodletting.

However, Congress, on the initiative of Rhode Island Senator John O. Pastore, a long-standing critic of television, moved to mandate a completely new investigation, calling on the US Surgeon General for a report on TV and violence that would, in effect, parallel the report associating cigarette smoking with cancer.

Worried about what might emerge from such a study, the television industry lobbied with President Nixon's Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Robert Finch, to influence the organization and conduct of the investigation. It successfully opposed seven candidates for appointment to the committee, including the best-known researchers in the field. The Surgeon General's Committee on Television and Social Behavior, as constituted, comprised five experts affiliated with the broadcasting industry, and four behavioral scientists innocent of mass-media background.

Three years and $1.8 million later, the committee produced its report, "Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence," supported by five volumes of technical studies. The full report, read by few, provided telling data on the role of TV violence as instigator of aggression in young people, but the nineteen-page summary that would determine the public perception emerged opaque and ambiguous, after an intense struggle within the committee.

"Under the circumstances," it said, watching violent fare on television could cause a young person to act aggressively, but "children imitate and learn from everything they see." The research studies, it said, indicated "a modest association between viewing of television and violence among at least some children," but "television is only one of the many factors which in time may precede aggressive behavior."

The summary danced around the crucial issue of causation: "Several findings of the survey studied can be cited to sustain the hypothesis that viewing of violent television has a causal relation to aggressive behavior, though neither individually nor collectively are the findings conclusive."

The ambiguity was mirrored in the pages of the *New York Times*. A front-page story on January 12, 1972, based on a leak, was headlined TV VIOLENCE HELD UNHARMFUL TO YOUTH. But when the report was officially released a week later, the *Times* story said, "The study shows for the first time a causal connection between violence shown on television and subsequent behavior by children."

"It is clear to me," said Surgeon General Jesse Steinfeld, presenting t report at a hearing conducted by Senator Pastore, "that the causal relationship between televised violence and antisocial behavior is sufficient to warrant appropriate and remedial action."

There was no significant remedial action. As the decade of urban violence and assassination ebbed, the issue of television violence faded, to come back another day. And another day would bring another report.

Even before the latest incidents of violence, a new inquiry had started. Dr. Eli A. Rubinstein had first come to the Surgeon General's committee as a vice chairman fresh from the National Institute of Mental Health. His experience with the investigation led him to make the study of the mass media his career.

In 1980, Dr. Rubinstein, now professor of psychology at the University of North Carolina, persuaded President Carter's Surgeon General, Dr. Julius Richmond, to assemble an ad hoc committee to prepare an updated version of the 1972 Surgeon General's report on its tenth anniversary. Two volumes of new technical studies have already been compiled. The conclusions are yet to be written, but there is no doubt that they will reinforce and expand the original timidly stated findings.

One thing the new report will do, Dr. Rubinstein said, is to lay to rest the theory that depicted violence can actually decrease aggression by serving as a "cathartic"—the cleansing and purging of an audience's emotions that Aristotle held to be the highest test of tragedy. Advanced by some behavioral scientists studying television, the theory was examined during the 1972 study for the Surgeon General, which concluded that there was "no evidence to support a catharsis interpretation." The updated report, citing new empirical studies, will make that point more strongly.

"A tremendous amount of work has been done over the past ten years, and the volume of literature has probably tripled," Dr. Rubinstein says. "If any mistake was made ten years ago, it was to be too qualified about the relationship between TV violence and aggressiveness. We have a lot of new evidence about causality, and about what constitutes causality. We know much more about how television produces aggressive behavior. We know more about how fantasy can crowd out reality, and the specific influences of television on disturbed minds.

"The fundamental scientific evidence indicates that television affects the viewer in more ways than we realized initially. You will recall that the original smoking-and-health study was limited to the lungs, and later it was learned how smoking affects the heart and other parts of the body. In the same way, we now know that the original emphasis on TV violence was too narrow. Television affects not only a predisposition towards violence, but the whole range of social and psychological development of the younger generation."

How Many Murders Can Your Kids Watch:

The National Coalition on Televisi Violence says these are the most v olent programs on national televisio The data was compiled between Fe ruary and May of 1981, and the scor for each program are in violent ac per hour.

Prime-time Shows	Network	Acts of Violence
Walking Tall	NBC	25
Vegas	ABC	18
Lobo	NBC	18
Greatest American Hero	ABC	18
Incredible Hulk	CBS	14
Magnum P.I.	CBS	14
Hart to Hart	ABC	14
Dukes of Hazzard	CBS	14
B.J. & the Bear	NBC	14
Fantasy Island	ABC	11
Enos	CBS	11

Saturday Morning Cartoons	Network	Acts of Violence
Thundarr the Barbarian	ABC	64
Daffy Duck	NBC	52
Bugs Bunny/Roadrunner	CBS	51
Superfriends	ABC	38
Richie Rich/Scooby Doo	ABC	30
Plasticman, Baby Plas	ABC	28
Heathcliff & Dingbat	ABC	28
Fonz	ABC	28
Tom & Jerry	CBS	27
Popeye	CBS	26
Johnny Quest	NBC	25
Drak Pak	CBS	23
Batman	NBC	19
Godzilla/Hong Kong Phooey	NBC	18
Flintstones	NBC	13
Tarzan/Lone Ranger	CBS	13

The new Surgeon General's report, scheduled for release by the Reagan administration in 1982, is likely to be challenged by the TV industry with all the vigor displayed by the tobacco lobby when opposing the report on smoking and cancer. Inevitably, it will be read for clues to violent behavior of people like John Hinckley.

> *In the absence of family, peer, and school relationships, television becomes the most compatible substitute for real-life experience.*
>
> —National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (1969)

What made Hinckley different, what made him shoot the President are ultimately matters for psychiatry and the law to determine. But the "media factor" played a part.

As Hinckley withdrew from school and family life, he retreated progressively into a waiting world of violent fantasy, spending more and more time alone with television—an exciting companion that made no demands on him.

But television was not the only part of the media working to merge fact and fantasy for Hinckley. He was strongly influenced by *Taxi Driver*, a motion picture about a psychopath who found the answer to his anxieties through his obsession with violence. Like the taxi driver, Hinckley oscillated between wanting to kill a public figure to impress the object of his affections, and wanting to "rescue" her from "evil" surroundings. Paul Schrader, author of the screenplay, tells me that the moment he heard that President Reagan had been shot, his reaction was, "There goes another taxi driver!"

Hinckley was also affected by fan frenzy, a special manifestation of the media culture. It focused not only on Jodie Foster, the female lead in *Taxi Driver*, but also on former Beatle John Lennon, whose music he played on the guitar. Last New Year's Eve, after Lennon's murder, Hinckley taped a monologue, in his motel room near Denver, in which he mourned: "John and Jodie, and now one of 'em's dead.

"Sometimes," he said, "I think I'd rather just see her not ... not on earth than being with other guys. I wouldn't wanna stay on earth without her on earth. It'd have to be some kind of pact between Jodie and me."

And the influences working on Hinckley extended beyond the visual media. The idea of a suicide pact was apparently drawn from *The Fan*, a novel by Bob Randall that Hinckley had borrowed—along with books about the Kennedy family and Gordon Liddy's *Will*—from a public library in Evergreen, Colorado. In the book, the paranoid fan of a Broadway star, feeling rejected in his advances by mail, kills the actress and himself as she opens in a theater production. Early last March, as Foster was preparing to open in a New Haven stock-company play, Hinckley slipped a letter under her door saying, "After tonight John Lennon and I will have a lot in common."

The plan that finally congealed this welter of media-drawn inspirations and impelled the young misfit to action was a presidential assassination. Before setting out, he—like the fictional fan—left behind a letter to be read posthumously. It was to tell Foster that he intended, through "this historical deed, to gain your respect and love."

As though to document his place in the media hall of fame, he dated and timed the letter and left behind, in his room in the Park Central Hotel, tapes of his guitar playing, his New Year's Eve soliloquy, and a telephone conversation with Foster.

A failure at most things, Hinckley was a spectacular media success who had survived to enjoy his celebrityhood—a lesson that won't be lost on other driven persons.

No one could doubt his importance or challenge his identity as the news cameras clustered around the federal courthouse when he arrived for his arraignment in a presidential-size limousine heralded by police sirens.

In the great made-for-TV drama, participants more "normal" than Hinckley seemed also to play assigned roles, as if caught up in some ineluctable screenplay. The TV anchors were reviewed for smoothness, composure, and factual accuracy under stress. Secretary of State Haig, making a gripping appearance in the White House press room, was panned for gasping and for misreading his lines. President Reagan, with considerable support from White House aides and from the smoothly reassuring Dr. Dennis O'Leary, himself an instant hit, won plaudits for a flawless performance as the wisecracking, death-defying leader of the Free World.

The effect was to reinforce the pervasive sense of unreality engendered by a generation of television shoot-outs—the impression that being shot doesn't really hurt, that everything will turn out all right in time for the final commercial.

One can understand the desire to assure the world that the government is functioning. But Dr. David Hamburg, the psychiatrist and former president of the Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences, believes it harmful to imply that a shooting can be without apparent physical consequence.

"Getting shot is not like falling off a horse," Dr. Hamburg says. "To sanitize an act of violence is a disservice. It is unwise to minimize the fact that a President can get hurt and that he can bleed."

One more contribution had been m to obscuring the pain and reality of v lence, to blurring the critical distinct between fiction and fact. The me President was, in his way, as muc product of the age of unreality as w John Hinckley, the media freak. In t media age, reality had been the f casualty.

Daniel Schorr, formerly CBS national and foreign correspondent, is now senior correspondent of Ted Turner's Cable News Network. Donna Rockwell contributed to this article.

Mr. Mottl. Thank you very much for your very enlightened statement. Both your prepared text and the text you read from here will be made part of the record, as well as the letter you read, without objection.

Let me start off the questioning, if I may.

In your prepared statement you cited as an example, "The Deer Hunter," and also "Born Innocent," as a correlation between the program that was viewed over television and the accidents or the excessive violent acts that occurred thereafter.

Can you cite any other examples for the subcommittee at this time that there was a direct correlation in you opinion?

Mr. Turner. Mr. Mottl, I spend most of my time trying to stay alive in competition with these networks. That is why it is so wonderful that you have these real experts who spend the bulk of their time going into details.

In my prepared statement I included an article from Daniel Schorr who has studied this subject when he was with CBS for many years.

He studied as—they are better able to answer the specific questions of how many incidents of this and that from particular programs.

I know in my own experience, I have five children. I used to, when I first entered the television business and started really watching TV for the first time to any degree—because I was in the business and didn't have any rules for my children—I watched my own children aggressively get in fights with each other after watching some of these programs.

I started watching some of the shows with them. Afterward I passed a rule that they couldn't watch these programs any more. Now they get along fine.

I think the people that have dealt with the children and the young people here, these gentlemen here, will be able to give you better specific examples than I because I am not like a college professor, an expert on the subject.

I just know from my travels around and talking with hundreds of groups, and so forth, that it is definitely the cause of this increase in violence in our society, because the schools aren't teaching violence.

I mean, what has changed in the last 20 years? It has caused crime and drugs and immorality and all the other things to become such an epidemic. What has cuased our young people for the first time in our history not to want to have anything to do with the military, and so forth?

It has been the destructive influence of those networks and the emotion picture industry in the programs that they produce.

Mr. MOTTL. One last question before I recognize the other members of the panel under the 5-minute rule.

It has been alleged that there is excessive violence and excessive sex on television. Which of the two more adversely affects the American society?

Mr. TURNER. Oh, I think violence by far. I mean sex—obviously we wouldn't be here if it wasn't for sex. Sex, properly presented, is a wonderful thing, but obviously violence by far. But it is still—it bothers me and many other people that their presentations of sex are on such a low and greasy level.

Mr. MOTTL. Thank you, Mr. Turner.

The Chair will recognize the people as they came to the subcommittee this morning.

First the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Marks.

Mr. MARKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Turner, in your testimony, that testimony that at least is pointed specifically to the problem that we are discussing today, you would suggest the possibility of intervention by the Government, by perhaps Congress, in an effort to reduce what you say is the excessive showing of violence in programs.

What I haven't heard from you, but perhaps you have an opinion on that, how would you suggest that this be achieved, considering the first amendment rights?

Mr. TURNER. That is why I suggested what I did.

In order—if these—if enough time and investigation is done—and I think from reading the testimony of the expert witnesses on behalf of the country rather than the witnesses of the networks, I think that you will see that there is enough evidence to check into it further.

If you do check into it, you will find that they have—that the television networks and their licensees have not fulfilled their obligation which they promised to do of serving the public interest when they were given those licenses free of charge.

So if that can be proven, and I think it can, then you have the right by—Congress can order the FCC to recapture those licenses.

Then you can define the public interest a little bit better like you do to protect the environment in these offshore drilling things that we have already worked out and then put these licenses up for bids.

Mr. MARKS. I am not sure you are answering the question that I posed to you.

My question to you is, How do we protect the first amendment rights by any Government intervention in this particular area?

I don't think you have answered that question. I think it is important to you as a broadcaster, as well as to the networks and everyone else.

Mr. TURNER. I agree. It is abhorrent to me that Congress should have to pass standards for programing. It shouldn't be necessary.

Mr. MARKS. You mean censorship? Is that what you are suggesting?

Mr. TURNER. I am not. I don't really know what the answer is. The hearings are just beginning. I would say that the first thing is to investigate and perhaps during the investigation or in thoughtful processes afterward, if sins have been committed, and you all agree to that, then maybe a solution might come as an idea to you of how it could be done without changing the first amendment, but I don't think, as I pointed out——

Mr. MARKS. Excuse me. You weren't saying changing the first amendment?

Mr. TURNER. No; some sort of standard. Maybe there do have to be—it would be—you are the Congressman. I am just a citizen. You all are supposed to be——

Mr. MARKS. You are here to advise us today. That is why I think it is pertinent.

Mr. TURNER. Maybe there would have to be some sort of censorship of certain aspects of programing, not perhaps in the editorial area, which is the free speech area, really, not censorship of the news, but some sort of standards for entertainment programing that would in some sort of way limit the excessive violence.

Also——

Mr. MARKS. May I ask you a question? That is interesting. What you are suggesting is censor the nonnews progams, but not the news programs?

Mr. TURNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MARKS. If that is your suggestion, I think that is a rather interesting idea considering first amendment rights.

Let me go one step further with you.

Your own network, your own cable industry produces many of the programs that have been on the networks, is that correct?

Mr. TURNER. Absolutely.

Mr. MARKS. You do that—how many hours a day are you on the air?

Mr. TURNER. Twenty-four hours a day with the super station and 24 hours with Cable News Network. Cable News, of course, is all news.

Mr. MARKS. My understanding is, you are criticizing the programing that is shown on the national networks, yet your own cable system replays those shows throughout the country on a 24-hour basis?

What have you done in an effort to minimize this excessive violence that you claim is being shown on the networks?

Mr. TURNER. By just selecting certain programs. For instance, we run "Andy Griffith," "Gomer Pyle," "Sanford and Son," "Father Knows Best." We don't run "Kojak," "Mannix;" we didn't buy the "Dukes of Hazzard." We didn't buy "Three's Company." We didn't buy "The Incredible Hulk" or "The Six Million Dollar Man." We just used the good shows.

We run a lot of movies too. They are the old movies, many of them made before the networks were even started, like "Going My Way" and "The Bells of St. Mary's," Bing Crosby, Bob Hope, and John Wayne.

Mr. MARKS. In your way, what you are saying is that you have to some degree yourself personally censored that which you put out over your own network?

Mr. TURNER. Absolutely. Completely. I am not perfect.

Mr. Radecki said professional wrestling shouldn't be on. I have to take another look at that. Tongue-in-cheek I felt like. Nobody ever kills anybody. They just beat each other up a little bit.

Mr. MARKS. I know time is running out. I would like to ask one other question, if I may.

Mr. MOTTL. He has to be out of here at a quarter to ten. This will be the last question.

Mr. MARKS. Do you think that the showing of the violence in the news programs that you put out 24 hours a day has any effect on our children or any or all of us in the same fashion that the programing of crime has in the nonnews programs?

Mr. TURNER. Absolutely.

But not so much on children, perhaps, because children don't watch news very much; the rating service show, thank goodness.

The sensationalism aspects, where the Gary Gilmores, that fellow that tried to murder the President, and so forth, they are given—and the sensational things, pickets, riots, everything, and Daniel Schorr's article addresses that.

That is part of my written testimony.

Mr. MARKS. What do you do on your own network to hold that down? You have 24 hours of news. There is violence.

Mr. TURNER. We are going to cover all this today. There will be no violence here, I think.

Mr. MARKS. We hope.

Mr. TURNER. By lots of interviews with Senators and Congressmen, business news, sports news, with medical news, editorials, fashion news. Our news program is more like a newspaper.

In my own personal checks of network and local television news which is in a rating battle trying to be number one and they resort so often to yellow journalism and sensationalism, I would say 85 percent of the things—if you watch a local newscast in Washington, 85 percent of the stuff will be negative, sensationalistic.

On a check on Cable News, you find it is about 50-50. At least it is more balanced. You have to report the bad things that are happening, but there is no reason to make heroes of nuts, as has been done so often by these broadcasters.

Mr. MARKS. Thank you very much.

Mr. MOTTL. Mr. Scheuer, do you have questions?

Mr. **Scheuer**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. **Mottl**. We have quite a few on the subcommittee, and Mr. Turner has to get out of here——

Mr. **Turner**. I will wait. I will stay as long as you wish me to.

Mr. **Scheuer**. We enjoyed your provocative testimony, Mr. Turner.

We have gone through a generation of television violence. I am going to ask you two questions on the effects of that television violence both on our young people and our elderly people.

We have had a generation of kids who are now adults who have been subjected to a systematic inundation of violence.

Now, your very distinguished and eminent correspondent, Dan Schorr, as you noted, wrote an article in the Washingtonian Magazine in which he suggested that John Hinckley, who is a kid like all other kids, subjected to this barrage of violence on television, in his attempted assassination of President Reagan, is symptomatic of the effects of television violence on this whole generation of young people who have just attained adulthood. That is my first question.

My second question is about the effects of violence on the elderly. So frequently in violence infused television shows, the elderly are victims of violence, pitiful, pathetic, tragic victims, helpless victims of violence.

That not only may stimulate violence among the aggressors, but it tends to make all elderly people who watch television even more fearful of their well-being, even more imprisoned in their homes, even more unwilling to even cross the street to a synagogue or church service.

What are your reactions (*a*) as to the—as to whether Mr. Hinckley is symbolic of the effects of violence on this new generation of adults who have been permeated by violence in their whole lives, the ambience for a generation; and (*b*) on the fear that it instills in the elderly?

Mr. **Turner**. Absolutely. I agree with you 100 percent and with Mr. Schorr who addressed both of those issues.

Mr. Radecki has done it perhaps even better than Daniel Schorr.

In reading his testimony at midnight last night, his prepared statement, I think he handles it even better, but he is a real expert in this field.

But you must remember that the movie, "Taxi Driver," which if this committee goes on you should get a print of "Taxi Driver," "The Warriors," "The Deer Hunter," "Apocalypse Now," and "Prom Night." You should watch those five movies. The movies are just as responsible as the television programs.

When I saw "The Taxi Driver," that is the one that inspired this man to kill the President. He even said so, along with television.

Mr. **Scheuer**. If the witness will yield, I don't think there is any question that television has far more impact on the young of our Nation than movies. The average kid watches television 4 or 5 hours a day, and it is an invasive instrument to penetrate the mind and effect the psyche of our young people.

There is no instrument in the history of civilization equal to television. It far surpasses movies in its impact on young people's minds.

This is what we are having to deal with.

Mr. **Turner**. These movies are now on television. The pay television services have no standards whatsoever. They are bringing these movies that even the networks, that are so horrible the networks won't touch them, like "Taxi Driver," like "The Warriors." "The Warriors" and "Taxi Driver" were not run on the networks. They were run on HBO, Showtime, and these services have no standards whatsoever.

They are being presented in the home and 15 percent of the U.S. homes now have pay television. These movies that wouldn't even be shown on the networks because they would be afraid to do it, because they would lose their licenses for doing them, are on television in the homes of the American people.

I agree with you 100 percent about the other things.

I stand up and cheer, you are absolutely right. The elderly in this country are easy targets for criminals because they don't have the strength to defend themselves against young hooligans. They are in terror.

Mr. **Scheuer**. I thank the witness.

I thank the Chairman.

Mr. **Mottl**. Thank you very much, Mr. Scheuer.

Next the Chair will recognize the gentleman from Texas, Mr. Collins.

Mr. **Collins**. Mr. Turner, in getting your mail and your responses from listeners, how often do they write? What percent of the objections pertains to violence?

Mr. **Turner**. Well, since our television—normally they write and tell us how great they think Cable News and the superstation are. Like the letter I read to the gentleman earlier; we don't get very many complaints at all. About 90 percent of our mail, or 95 percent, is complimentary.

When I make speeches and it gets in newspapers, people will write and tell me thank God someone is taking the stand against the networks and the motion pictures that you are.

I would say—we save the letters. I have thousands of them.

Mr. **Collins**. You think basically your type of programing is of a high enough level that it does not invite criticism?

Mr. **Turner**. I just select it very carefully myself.

Mr. **Collins**. For many years I have thought we need more of the inspiring types of shows on television instead of shows that downgrade people. I have wondered why we can't have more of the Horatio Alger type?

Mr. **Turner**. We are doing programs like that now on the superstation, lots of them.

Mr. **Collins**. Horatio Alger type?

Mr. Turner. Yes, sir. We are doing a show called "Nice People" which is a half-hour show that picks three people who help others. We have a program called "The Winners," about people who have come up by their bootstraps and been a success in the country and made a success of their lives.

Right now we are preparing to do a series "Portrait of America," a series of 60 documentaries on every State and possession of the United States, showing how beautiful and wonderful, along the line of Alistair Cooke's "America" series, which was produced by the BBC because none of our networks wanted to do anything decent.

Mr. **Collins**. I like that show about the winners. How long is that show running?

Mr. **Turner**. It is a half-hour also.

Mr. **Collins**. And you tell the complete story in a half-hour?

Mr. **Turner**. Yes, we can. Pretty well. In fact, if you would like tapes of some of these shows, we would be happy to send them to you to watch on your machine.

Mr. **Collins**. What time of the day do you run that show?

Mr. **Turner**. "The Winners" runs at 7 o'clock on Friday evenings, and "Nice People" runs at 6:30 on Sunday evening.

Mr. **Collins**. Are these shows prepared so they could be used for reruns?

Mr. **Turner**. Yes, sir. We intend to syndicate them worldwide as soon as we get off the ground. We are still in an embryonic stage.

Mr. **Collins**. Do you give your affiliates an opportunity to censor you programs?

Mr. **Turner**. Our cable systems? They are cur affiliates. They are not supposed to. They could, but there is nothing really to censor. I wouldn't mind anybody censoring anything they wanted to. I think there is not enough censorship.

Mr. **Collins**. Have you had any feedback from your affiliates?

Mr. **Turner**. Not negative. Just positive.

Mr. **Collins**. Let me come back to this Horatio Alger concept.

You seem to have more of a positive outlook on it than the networks do. How long have you been pushing this position idea, the idea of a program about a youngster starting from nothing and becoming a success in America?

Mr. **Turner**. All my life, sir. My father did that when he was a young man. He instilled me with those values. I have tried to do the same to my sons and daughters.

Mr. **Collins**. You would make a good show yourself. Have you ever run an hour on you?

Mr. **Turner**. No, sir. We have run some of my speeches. It is pretty hard to run programing about yourself on your own networks. Better to run stuff about others. I would rather run an hour on you.

Mr. **Collins**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. **Mottl**. Thank you, Mr. Collins.

Mr. Scheuer?

Mr. **Scheuer**. Just one brief question.

Mr. Turner, why don't we have cable television in Washington?

Mr. **Turner**. It is the District of Columbia. Don't you all run the District of Columbia? Tell them they have 30 days to give a franchise. I will start wiring tomorrow if you give me a franchise.

I will have it wired in 2 years. They are diddling around. It is absolutely ridiculous. There is no excuse for it. There are a number of companies that would be happy to wire it tomorrow.

There is a minority group that is well financed here that is ready to roll. That would be a great thing to do. Maybe you all could overrule the local government and give the franchise or give them an order to franchise within 60 days.

It is not that big a deal.

Mr. **Scheuer**. Why can't they get their act together?

Mr. **Turner**. Sir, I don't run the Government. I have enough trouble running my operation. There is no excuse for it, simply and explicitly.

Mr. **Scheuer**. Do you have any idea of the amount of revenues they are losing?

Mr. **Turner**. They are losing a lot of money, that's for sure. Even worse than that, the people of this city—and there is a crime problem here—need the better programs that cable can provide.

Mr. **Mottl**. The gentlewoman from Illinois, Ms. Collins.

Ms. **Collins**. Mr. Turner, I have been very interested in your testimony and the way in which you have presented it.

I think it is very effective. Let me ask you one question in particular. You talked a lot about programing.

What can be done in the area of consciousness raising? We always find ourselves running into the first amendment which I believe is certainly overused and overinterpreted a great deal by the networks in their programing.

If we can't get narrower interpretations of first amendment rights, and the very fine line drawn there, what can you do to raise the consciousness of those who put the programs on the networks?

Mr. **Turner**. This is going to help. Right now, as I pointed out, I don't know how many people are watching, but there are probably a couple million out there watching. A problem recognized is a problem half solved. People like Donald Wildmon, the Knights of Columbus, the various other groups, the Coalition Against Television Violence, there are a number of groups, even the VFW, Veterans of Foreign Wars and so forth, that are a great groundswell which is occurring right now.

I think that is probably the reason for these hearings. We are going to scare them to death, if nothing else.

Ms. **Collins**. What about John Q. Public? Have you seen an active interest on the part of the public, aside from public interest groups and councils in saying they don't want this kind of programing?

Until the public decides they don't want the kinds of violent programing which is the subject of this hearing, I don't think too much is going to be done about it.

Mr. **Turner**. Well, you saw. There is not one person in the room that watches those shows, their most popular programs, because they are so crummy.

The public is speaking out. The problem is that the networks control the airways. When I called for an investigation, when I called for an investigation of the networks by Congress, the networks didn't cover it.

In other words, they only cover the news that is good for them. They don't cover the news that is bad for them.

Let's watch the evening news tonight and see how much of this runs on the evening news tonight on ABC, CBS, and NBC. Let's see how much of my testimony runs.

Ms. **Collins**. OK.

Mr. **Turner**. Or Mr. Radecki's or Mr. Wildmon's.

Ms. **Collins**. When do you think the public is going to be outraged by this? Do you think it is happening now?

Mr. **Turner**. Yes, I definitely do. The public isn't that well informed because they control the information. They haven't been telling them.

They tell them it is wonderful, these programs are great for them.

Ms. **Collins**. Wouldn't the public generate that kind of interest? If I decide I don't want to watch a program because I don't want my children to see it, I would turn it off. I might even talk to my neighbors about that sort of thing.

Isn't it usually the case that action takes place to correct a given situation in this country when the grassroots gets together and decides to right a wrong?

It is my belief until they take the action, no matter how many hearings we have, nothing is going to change on the networks.

Mr. **Turner**. Pretty hard to fight the most powerful communications the world has ever seen, which is being used to brainwash them the other way.

Ms. **Collins**. I have to agree with that point.

Thank you.

Mr. **Turner**. It is not a fair fight. That is why, thank God, you all are here to protect us from attack without and within. Wiser people. We elect the Congressmen and the Senators because they have the time and the smarts to study all this stuff and solve out problems for us.

Ms. **Collins**. With that great statement, I hope this is certainly going to be shown in Chicago.

Mr. **Turner**. There is no cable in Chicago either, Ms. Collins.

Mr. **Mottl**. Thank you, Ms. Collins.

The gentleman from California, Mr. Moorhead?

Mr. **Moorhead**. Mr. Turner, you are certainly to be commended for pointing out to the American people the danger of too much sex and too much violence on television.

The big problem we seem to have is that those shows are getting an awful lot of play; they rate high in the ratings when they have the sex and violence in it.

How are we going to educate the American people to the point where they turn their dial to something else?

If they watch something else, the networks will want to put on more uplifting programs. Those that will actually be beneficial to our people, rather than damaging.

Mr. **Turner**. I don't know whether you were here, Congressman, when I asked this group how many of them watched those shows.

The only one of the shows—the only person in the room that watched the Dukes of Hazzard was the gentleman from CBS.

When I talked to the Hollywood Radio and Television Society, over 1,000 people in the room, I think only 3 out of 1,000 watched the "Dukes of Hazzard." Only about—that is a high-rate show. Those are the people that make the shows. They make them to sell, like cigarette companies make the cigarettes.

Cigarettes only kill a few people. These television programs and movies kill millions.

Mr. **Moorhead**. I think one of the things that a lot of people are concerned with, of course, is outright censorship by the Government. Who is going to set the standards that we have?

Are they going to buy the religious programs as well as the programs that are violent and others that have other objections?

If you have a Government agency actually setting those standards, we don't always come up with the best programing.

Mr. **Turner**. You couldn't do much worse.

Mr. **Moorhead**. How are we going to make these changes without the Government trying to step in and being the one that tells them what they can and what they can't have?

Mr. **Turner**. A good point, Mr. Moorhead.

I could only—back when I was a little boy, I remember my father smoked three packs of Lucky Strikes and Camels. In those days the cigarette companies advertised that cigarette smoking was good for you.

But we learned that cigarettes cause cancer. Now we make cigarettes even when they advertise do a disclaimer and so forth. That was congressional action there. That was—you took action to protect people from cigarettes. We have only had television for 30 years, about as long as we had cigarettes when we realized what damage they were causing.

But television's damage to this society is far greater than cigarettes ever were.

I think some action is going to have to be taken to protect the country. I don't know exactly what it would be, but something.

Mr. **Moorhead**. You wouldn't want to put a statement underneath, in the caption of the show, that watching this program would be——

Mr. **Turner**. Yes. Mr. Radecki suggests that. I definitely do. I think in general people watch too much television. They shouldn't be spending 85 percent of all their free time watching television.

They should be talking with their children, taking walks, playing bridge with their neighbors, reading.

I think every television network around should have to run an hourly disclaimer saying "Warning: Too much television viewing can be damaging to your mental health."

I would support that if everybody did it. I would run it on my channel, even though I am trying to run good programing.

You bet. I am not joking.

Mr. **Moorhead**. I agree with you that too much of anything is damaging to individuals and especially if the kids do nothing but watch TV.

I know what happens in a lot of our homes.

I don't think though it is going to be changed or can be changed by law. It has to be changed by education and by changing the patterns of American life. That is not going to be done by——

Mr. **Turner**. How did you knock cigarette advertising off television? That was done somewhere up here.

Mr. **Moorhead**. Voluntary.

Mr. **Turner**. Maybe you all could twist a few volunteer arms some kind of way. I will certainly go along with whatever you do. I would rather have you set the standards than those guys.

At least you are the elected representatives of the people. All they are is a bunch of greedy, no-good, you-know-whats.

Mr. **Moorhead**. I don't necessarily agree with your last statement.

Mr. **Turner**. Generally.

Mr. **Moorhead**. I do think that your drive to educate the American people to the danger of too much of this violence and too much sex can have a very good result in that it may change the viewing habits of the American people and their desires and if we can get some of those more wholesome shows up at the top of the ratings, then I am sure that the networks are going to follow.

Mr. **Turner**. We are working on it.

Mr. **Mottl**. Thank you very much, Mr. Moorhead.

The next questioner will be the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Markey.

Mr. **Markey**. Welcome, Mr. Turner.

One of the arguments that the networks make—and you have already alluded to it—is that they don't decide programing; the viewers decide programing, and they decide every week by turning their dial to a particular station, and if they vote for the "Dukes of Hazzard," if they want Kojak, if they want all these programs that are highly populated by violent acts, then who is it but them who has to decide that there has to be a certain amount of self censorship which is exercised by American families?

And although among higher educated, upper income groups there may not be a higher level of viewership, that among lower socioeconomic groups those who do not have a tendency to either populate broadcast meetings or congressional hearings, that there is a very great attraction that these programs hold out for them in a sort of escapism?

What do we say to the networks that if there is some validity to their argument that the Nielsen's or the Arbitrons, or whatever, are an accurate reflection of what the public wants, how do we discount that public interest in and affirmation of their desire to have this kind of programing?

Mr. **Turner**. Raw, ruthless capitalism is restrained in many ways by our Government. We have the FTC and the FDA that stops drugs that don't work from coming on the market.

Food products and automobiles that don't have proper safety devices and so forth.

We have lots of controls. Cigarettes now have to carry disclaimers on them. Television is far more pervasive, more influential than anything the world has ever seen.

It operates—and it is using the public's airways at no charge.

Our Government somehow gave CBS, NBC, and ABC those licenses 30 something years ago free of charge. There was one control: that they operate in the public interest. This hearing will show that they are not operating in the public interest.

There are unfortunately, or fortunately, children are not in a position to make the decisions. There is not adequate parental supervision. Many times parents aren't even home when the children are watching these programs.

That is why we have a government to protect us. Why do we need an army? An individual can't make the decision on what weapons, whether to build the B-1, the MX; that is what we are paying you all and electing you all to do.

It is obvious that there is a problem here and a problem recognized is a problem half-solved.

Once the problem is recognized, you all can figure out how to solve it. Hopefully.

Mr. MARKEY. Some people would argue that it is the job of the parents; that is is not the job of the networks; that the networks have presented the programing and that now the program has come into the home and why aren't the parents there and why don't the parents turn off that knob?

That is the most effective and constitutionally acceptable form of censorship.

Parents turning off the TV set. What is wrong with that, the networks will say? Why shouldn't that be the ultimate repository of this responsibility?

Mr. TURNER. Why should the public have to turn off the television sets? Why, since it is the public airways that these broadcasters are using, why should they have to turn the set off? Why shouldn't they at least on one network have an alternative?

All three networks run the same stuff. They are all crummy. If one of them was good, I don't think this hearing would possibly be held. They have as much responsibility as the parents do in my opinion.

Mr. MARKEY. The networks would go even further. They would argue that there is not any proven scientific causal connection between the showing of these television programs and any subsequent violent action on the part of children or adults, that it cannot be scientifically or legally proven that such links exist, and as a result what we are dealing with here is a world of opinion rather than anything that has been scientifically proved?

How would you respond to that?

Mr. TURNER. I would disagree. When Mr. Radecki speaks this afternoon, I think that he has and can bring forward a number of witnesses that can prove the case beyond a reasonable doubt.

I really think that they can. I think it can be shown.

Mr. MARKEY. Let me ask you this: This is just something that I have over the years been interested in. I have always believed that the first amendment should be made sacrosanct. At the same time, we have to recognize that there are differences between, let us say, newspapers and television networks, but I guess the analogy gets down to UP and AP or the New York Times News Service being the networks and the local newspapers on the local level having the opportunity of accepting or rejecting television programing as it comes to them as local newspapers can decide which stories they want to put in their local newspapers.

So that a newspaper in Boston might decide that something is completely appropriate for printing whereas somebody in Des Moines, Albuquerque, whatever, their newspaper editors would say no, we are not going to accept that AP, UP or New York Times News Service story.

How about the local affiliates?

Mr. SCHEUER. I thought the New York Times would be offering that kind of story. The New York Times prints only news that is fit to print.

Mr. MARKEY. The question I have for you is this: What kind of responsibility should we put on the local affiliates? They have the opportunity, each individual general manager, to accept or reject television programing as it is sent down to them from the networks to make a determination as to the appropriateness of this particular type of program for their local audience.

What kind of responsibility do you put on their shoulders?

Mr. **Turner**. I think their licenses should be lifted too, when this committee has determined they have not operated in the public interest. They are doing it for one reason: money.

I have talked to—well, just recently to one of the heads of the independent broadcast groups. I made this speech to a group in Cincinnati.

Multimedia was the company. I can't remember the man's name. I think he operates television stations out of Cincinnati. He said I agree with you 100 percent; the network programing is trash. He said we preempt all of it we can

There are a lot of people that admit it is trash.

Mr. **Markey**. Just one second. They argue that they don't get the programing enough in advance that they are able to reject or accept a substitute, to substitute "The Bells of St. Mary's" for the local programing because the TV Guides and the Sunday supplements are already printed up 2 and 3 weeks in advance and so as a result they are forced through economics and logistics to accept this programing that comes down from the networks and slam it in there because they haven't seen it but a week or 10 days in advance and they don't have an opportunity to advertise alternative programing; their stations would become noncompetitive. What do we say to them?

Mr. **Turner**. Did you ever read the transcripts of the Nuremberg trials? That is what the Nazis said. "We had to go along with the system. We were following orders."

We still roasted a bunch of them. A lot of these guys deserve roasting.

Mr. **Markey**. You would say if you were looking at it—I just want to follow this for a second, Mr. Chairman—if you were trying not to impose any censorship by the Government, but were trying to give local affiliates an opportunity to be able to exercise a sort of censorship upon the networks as local newspapers do upon the national news services, they decide what is fit for their local newspapers to print, although something might be fit for New York that—what is fit for New York or Los Angeles may not be fit for Peoria.

That is a decision that now perhaps is not able to be effectively exercised because they do not have ample opportunity to see this programing enough in advance to be able to make that decision and to be able to substitute alternative programing.

You do not accept that argument?

Mr. **Turner**. Eighty percent of the network's programing is trash. It is pretty hard to screw up the World Series or the NFL on Sunday afternoons when all they are doing is televising a game going on. Most of their entertainment programing, the soap operas are godawful. Their entertainment programs—and the networks put pressure in various ways, network compensation on the affiliates to carry the programs, but the affiliates have gone along with it. They are part of the system.

I feel they are just as guilty as the networks.

I had a network affiliated station. I affiliated with NBC. I wasn't watching the programs very much. After I got the affiliation—I thought it would be better for me and it was because I sold the station for $20 million and started Cable News Network. I got out of the business. I got out of it happily.

Mr. MOTTL. Mr. Markey, go ahead.

Mr. MARKEY. Congresswoman Collins has mentioned only when there is a consciousness on the part of local community groups, only when that bubbling, boiling cauldron of controversy starts to boil over are we ever going to have any effective attempt at regulating the amount and level of violence that is present on television.

And I guess just thinking myself, it must be very difficult for an ordinary viewer to write a letter to Hollywood or write a letter to New York and believe it is going to have any effect at all.

You can protest something in city hall; you can protest something that is happening in your own State government.

The further away it gets, the more impotent you feel. The real opportunity for a voice that is effective is that which is closest to you, and for the ordinary viewer that is the local affiliate.

That is the person who is accepting these programs, these Kojaks, these Dukes of Hazzards.

It is coming into their local community by way of the local affiliate.

The question, it seems to me, if you want to really build public opposition to and also an effective means for opposition to the levels of violence on television, you have to build in some accountability on the part of the local affiliates so that they have a stake in going to the networks as the representative of their local communities and saying, "We reject on behalf of our local communities the types of programing which you are—that you are sending down here."

Would you not accept that as a logical premise for the leveraging, the power leveraging which is going to have to occur in order for this kind of dramatic change to occur in the kinds of programing?

Mr. TURNER. The thing about it is, of course, when we polled this room I would say—I would really be surprised if any of you gentlemen are—watch those network programs.

The intelligent people in this country don't watch the shows. If you don't watch them, they do other things, thank God.

They are the ones that are keeping their head above water, paying their bills on time, and making advancements.

People that watch network television 45 or 50 hours a week are committed to a form of slavery. It is a habit as bad as any drug habit. Fortunately none of you gentlemen have that habit.

I can tell that or you wouldn't be Congressmen. The people that would be doing the writing aren't watching it so they aren't aware of what is going on.

It is like if you don't take cocaine and your friends don't take it, or heroin, it doesn't exist as far as you are concerned.

It is the little people, the children, the innocent, the uneducated, that are being ruined and being converted over to criminals by these programs.

They are not going to write. When I told my own children they couldn't watch the "Dukes of Hazzard" any more because I watched it with them, they almost cried. They were hooked on it.

Mr. **Markey**. I want to say in conclusion, thank you, Mr. Turner. I agree with you what we are seeing in our society is an acceptance of nonviolent resolution of human conflict being substituted by violent resolution of human conduct and being considered an acceptable means of human response by young people.

That kind of exposure by these young people over a prolonged period of time becomes inculcated, not just in individuals but in our society. That is a very real problem. It is one that, without a proper recognition by our society as a whole and you are bringing attention to it today, I think that it augurs very poorly for the future of America.

I thank you.

Mr. **Mottl**. Mr. Swift, the gentleman from Washington, do you have any questions for Mr. Turner?

Mr. **Swift**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am interested in your use of statistics. Eighty percent of what is on network television is trash you say. Do you have a study you refer to or is that just a figure you plucked out of your head?

Mr. **Turner**. Sir, I am sorry. I was just given a message. I didn't know how important it was. I am sorry.

Mr. **Swift**. You said 80 percent of everything on network television is trash. How did you arrive at 80 percent?

Mr. **Turner**. Well, I use that figure—I use that figure. "Roots"—there is "Little House on the Prairie" and there are a couple—"White Shadow"—I don't know whether it is still running or not. There are a few shows that a family can watch together.

I said 80 percent——

Mr. **Swift**. What about "Lou Grant"?

Mr. **Turner**. It is probably OK.

Mr. **Swift**. What about "Mary Tyler Moore"?

"Hill Street Blues"?

Mr. **Turner**. "Mary Tyler Moore" was canceled 5 years ago.

Mr. **Swift**. So was "White Shadow", which you used. So that's fair.

What about "Hill Street Blues"?

Mr. **Turner**. "Hill Street Blues" is fine.

Mr. **Swift**. "Archie Bunker's Place"?

"M*A*S*H"?

Mr. **Turner**. I mentioned "M*A*S*H".

Mr. **Swift**. What about "60 Minutes"? "20/20"? "The Johnny Carson Show"? What about "Today"?

What about "Good Morning, America"?

Mr. **Turner**. I was only talking about entertainment programs?

Mr. **Swift**. What about "Gunsmoke"? It is not on the air right now.

Do you consider that trash?

What about "Have Gun—Will Travel"?

Let's go back to a little old one. A little half-hour pot boiler western. Was that trash?

Mr. **Turner**. I kind of liked it.

Mr. **Swift**. It was cited by——

Mr. **Turner**. Violent.

Mr. **Swift**. It was cited by the American Society of English Professors as one of the most consistently good uses of the short story form on television.

Mr. **Turner**. I said in my testimony 10 years ago is when it started.

Mr. **Swift**. I have gone over 20 percent of the entertainment programs in prime time already.

Mr. **Turner**. No, you haven't.

Mr. **Swift**. Oh, yes, I have indeed.

No further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. **Turner**. Most of the shows you mentioned were canceled years ago.

Mr. **Mottl**. Mr. Scheuer?

Mr. **Scheuer**. My problem with the District of Columbia not having moved more effectively in franchising cable TV, it seems it would offer two advantages.

First, it would give people some options—like your network and other options—to the persistent tide of violence people are offered on the networks.

Second, I am told by experts that the income from franchises would provide at least a minimum of $50 million a year to the city, which they desperately and urgently need.

Yet they don't seem to be moving in the direction of an orderly, reasoned procedure to allocate those licenses.

Now, what can you suggest that we could do to encourage, to really encourage the city to move forward in an orderly and well planned way to allocate cable TV franchises?

Mr. **Turner**. Doesn't Congress run the District of Columbia?

Mr. **Scheuer**. Well, not exactly. They have a form of self-government that we have given them, and properly so.

Mr. **Turner**. Why don't you just pass a House resolution that you give them 60 days to franchise and let them get it worked out by then? They could do it.

We have to decide on the AWACS planes next week. You all are going to do it one way or the other.

Mr. **Mottl**. Mr. Turner, on behalf of the subcommittee, thank you for the outstanding job you have done here this morning. We certainly appreciate your efforts in this area of eliminating excessive violence on television.

Mr. **Turner**. Thank you, Mr. Mottl.

Mr. **Mottl**. Our third panel of network officials will feature Mr. Alfred Schneider, vice president of ABC. He will be accompanied by Mr. Alan Wurtzel, director of developmental and social research.

Mr. Gene P. Mater, senior vice president of policy for the CBS Broadcast Group will be accompanied by Mr. David Blank, vice president and chief economist.

Mr. Ralph Daniels, vice president of NBC will make that network's presentation.

Mr. **Mater**. As long as Mr. Turner's remarks are fresh in everybody's mind, I wonder if I might say a word or two about them?

Mr. MOTTL. As part of your presentation, why don't you give your presentation and then you can follow up?

Mr. MATER. If he is in the room, he might like to hear it.

Mr. MOTTL. Mr. Schneider, all of your official statements will be accepted into the record without objection.

We would appreciate if you could summarize or read whatever you feel more comfortable doing. Thank you for being here with us this morning.

STATEMENTS OF ALFRED R. SCHNEIDER, VICE PRESIDENT, AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANIES, INC., ACCOMPANIED BY ALAN H. WURTZEL, DIRECTOR, DEVELOPMENTAL AND SOCIAL RESEARCH; GENE P. MATER, SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT, POLICY, CBS BROADCAST GROUP, ACCOMPANIED BY DAVID BLANK, VICE PRESIDENT AND CHIEF ECONOMIST; AND RALPH DANIELS, VICE PRESIDENT, BROADCAST STANDARDS, NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Mr. Chairman, members of the subcommittee, we will submit a prepared statement for the record.

I would just excerpt certain portions of that for this short testimony.

My name is Alfred R. Schneider. I am a vice president of American Broadcasting Companies, Inc. With me this morning is Dr. Alan Wurtzel, director of developmental and social research for ABC.

My responsibilities include development and implementation of the American Broadcasting Co. policies and standards concerning the acceptability of program and commercial material scheduled for broadcast over our facilities.

The American Broadcasting Co. Department of Broadcast Standards and Practices reports to me.

That department has the responsibility of reviewing, prior to broadcast, all network commercial and programing material other than news, public affairs and sports.

I appreciate this opportunity to summarize the policies and procedures utilized by the department to ensure compliance with governmental laws and regulations, the television Code of the National Association of Broadcasters, and the internal policies of the American Broadcasting Co.

The Department of Broadcast Standards and Practices operates independent of the ABC Television Network so that there is, in effect, a system of checks and balances.

The department is separate from the program department's creative evaluations as well as the economic considerations of the sales department

The Department of Broadcast Standards and Practices has a full-time staff of 72 persons based in the two major centers of production, New York and Los Angeles.

The executive, managerial, and editorial staff, consisting of 45 persons, brings to the department expertise in fields ranging from law, teaching, English and social sciences to communications, psychology, journalism, and early childhood education.

This diversity makes for a whole greater than the sum of its parts, contributing to the insight and sensitivity needed to make sound judgments on matters of law, good taste, and acceptability.

The Broadcast Standards and Practices Department annually screens and analyzes about 45,000 commercials and 100 theatrical features, and in accordance with the procedures outlined below it reviews over 3,000 hours of entertainment programs and programing in development.

Each entertainment program, series, and made-for-television movie is reviewed by an editor in the Department of Broadcast Standards and Practices from the treatment, story concept, and script stage through final production and editing.

Where a particular television program, series, or made-for-television movie is expected to include sensitive, controversial, or violent portrayals, extensive discussions are held with the producer to ascertain the manner in which he intends to treat the material and to insure that he understands fully the applicable policies and standards.

A report is prepared for the producer indicating the acceptability of the script or any appropriate revisions. Prior to broadcast the program is also reviewed at the rough cut, final cut, and editing stages, and appropriate revisions are made if deemed necessary.

Feature films that have been produced by others for initial theatrical release are screened prior to acquisition by ABC to determine whether major or minor deletions shall be required or, as is not uncommon, whether a particular film is completely unacceptable.

In certain circumstances, an audio and video advisory is broadcast before the start of programs to give parents the opportunity to exercise discretion with regard to younger viewers.

We are careful, however, not to use such an advisory in a manner that could cause it to become an invitation for viewing.

Prior to broadcast, we send to all our affiliated stations, including our owned television stations, detailed information about programs scheduled for broadcast.

As Congressman Markey has recommended, we are going back and trying to increase the lead time during which affiliates can see programs in order to make their individual decisions.

As you are aware, we have recently gone through a major strike which has troubled us in terms of production capability in dealing with the creative community to attempt to get material out as fast as we possibly can, but it is not without a sense of responsibility that we seek to achieve the results that you have suggested.

Violent behavior, when it is portrayed, must be reasonably related to the story line or plot development and be responsibly depicted.

We will not permit the portrayal of violence for the sake of violence itself, or as a device to titilate the viewers, to shock, or to sensationalize a story line.

We will not permit authors who have written themselves into a corner to extricate themselves quickly with a little bloodshed.

The consequences of violent behavior upon both the aggressor and the victim should be portrayed.

In addition, we minimize the use of acts of personal violence in teasers, prologues, and promotional announcements.

It is clear that gratuitous violence serves no useful purpose and should be carefully avoided.

Similarly, while any act may be emulated, we are extremely cautious in avoiding the portrayal of specific, detailed techniques involved in the use of weapons, the commission of crimes, or avoidance of detection.

In short, every effort is made to insure that portrayals of violence for its own sake, or unnecessary depictions of excessive force, are excluded from our presentation.

A practice begun in 1973, which has since become a regular procedure, is the conducting of periodic in-service training workshops for editors under the supervision of our independent psychiatric consultant, Dr. Melvin Heller, and the social research department under Dr. Wurtzel.

Each 3-day intensive session, conducted on the west coast has concentrated on the areas of children's programs, violent portrayals, and adult program themes.

By utilizing scripts and recently televised programs, an ongoing dialog is pursued.

As a result of these workshops, Dr. Heller authored a reference book entitled "Broadcast Standards Editing," which has been of great assistance to the department.

This manual, which I would be happy to submit for the record, is currently the definitive work for understanding and applying the theoretical and practical bases for rational standards in television broadcasting.

ABC has made a special effort to understand the effects of televised violence on children. We commissioned, at a cost of $1 million, two studies which were completed several years ago after 5 years' work. These studies, which I would also be happy to submit for the record, resulted in findings which have subsequently guided our work.

Among a number of findings, the reports, in summary form, concluded that while imitative risks existed in post-viewing aggression by certain youngsters, television did not cause assaultive, violent antisocial behavior in children; that exposure to violent television content did not lead to heightened aggressive behavioral violence, but did increase aggressive tendencies in psychological test scores, fantasies, and play; that there was no demonstrable relationship between the intensity of violent behavior; that television programs with more aggressive content produced more aggressive fantasies, and exposure to programs with less aggressive content resulted in decreased aggressive fantasies, play and preoccupation.

Mr. MOTTL. Can you summarize for us?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. I am trying to. I think Mr. Turner made a lot of statements. I think we should be able to reply to that.

Mr. MOTTL. I think you will have adequate time during the questioning.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. In order to implement our policies more objectively with respect to the portrayal of violence, and in light of our workshops and studies, ABC has developed the incident classification and analysis form—a device intended to aid broadcast standards in deciding whether the amount of violence, overall, in a television program is excessive.

Although Dr. Wurtzel will address this project in more detail, in brief, the ICAF is a method designed to examine and review the portrayal of violence on both a qualitative and quantitative basis.

We feel that it is improper not to make distinctions between those incidents that may cause tension, distress, or increased aggressive behavior in audiences, and those that are unlikely to do so.

We also believe it is a mistake not to make a distinction between a comedic aggressive act and a violent criminal one.

Thus this system relates an episode of violence in terms of its seriousness; its realism; its relationship in context to humor, to fantasy, to human consequences.

One of the principal features of the ICAF methodology is a weighting system to develop a numerical score for every program. The rationale behind a weightening system is that different types of violent behaviors have different effects upon viewers.

It is logical to assume that a murder depicted on a television show will have a different impact on the average viewer than a TV depiction of a child slapping a playmate.

The weighting of various acts according to (1) their severity, and (2) the context within which the viewer perceives them, enables us to more accurately reflect the violence which is contained within any television program.

Another important reason behind the development of the weighting system is to provide broadcast standards with a reliable measure of program content so that comparisons between program episodes and among different programs can be made relatively quickly and accurately.

It should be noted that programs which contains portrayals of violence comprise only a part of our total broadcast day and only a portion of our prime time offering.

Our programing philosophy proceeds from the fact that we are a mass medium.

We present material primarily for a national audience, while providing programing for specialized audiences as well.

We realize it is not possible to satisfy all of the people all of the time. We can, however, satisfy most of the people most of the time through a commitment to diversity within our program service.

In sum, our goals are, on the one hand, to develop and encourage a diversified program schedule which seeks to evolve new forms, varied program fare, and broader choice for the audience while, on the other hand, to direct and intensify our efforts in the broadcast standards area toward responsible presentation of acts of violence in acting programs.

[Testimony resumes on p. 48.]

[Mr. Schneider's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ALFRED R. SCHNEIDER, VICE PRESIDENT, AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANIES, INC.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee:

My name is Alfred R. Schneider. I am a Vice President of American Broadcasting Companies, Inc. With me this morning is Dr. Alan Wurtzel, Director of Developmental and Social Research for ABC.

My responsibilities include development and implementation of the American Broadcasting Company's policies and standards concerning the acceptability of program and commercial material scheduled for broadcast over our facilities. The American Broadcasting Company's Department of Broadcast Standards and Practices reports to me. That department has the responsibility of reviewing, prior to broadcast, all network commercial and programming material other than news, public affairs and sports. I appreciate this opportunity to summarize the policies and procedures utilized by the Department to ensure compliance with governmental laws and regulations, the Television Code of the National Association of Broadcasters, and the internal policies of the American Broadcasting Company.

The Department of Broadcast Standards and Practices operates independent of the ABC Television Network so that there is, in effect, a system of "checks and balances." As a result, the work of the Department is separate from the Program Department's creative evaluations as well as the economic considerations of the Sales Department, all of which are factors considered irrelevant to issues of broadcast acceptability. Its function in implementing the policies and standards of our company takes into recognition the mandate of each licensee who broadcasts both commercial and programming material to operate in the public interest.

In existence since 1942, the Department of Broadcast Standards and Practices has a full-time staff of 72 persons based in the two major centers of production, New York and Los Angeles. The executive, managerial, and editorial staff, consisting of 45 persons, brings to the Department expertise in fields ranging from law, teaching, English, and social sciences to communications, psychology, journalism, and early childhood education. This diversity makes for a whole greater than the sum of its parts, contributing to the insight and sensitivity needed to make sound judgments on matters of law, good taste, and acceptability.

The Broadcast Standards and Practices Department annually screens and analyzes about 45,000 commercials and 100 theatrical features, and in accordance with the procedures outlined below, it reviews over 3,000 hours of entertainment programs and programming in development.

Each entertainment program, series, and made-for-television movie is reviewed by an editor in the Department of Broadcast Standards and Practices from the treatment (story concept) and script stage through final production and editing.

Matters relating to program acceptability are carefully discussed and reviewed in detail with members of the program department as well as the production community. Where a particular television program, series, or made-for-television movie is expected to include sensitive, controversial, or violent portrayals, extensive discussions are held with the producer to ascertain the manner in which he intends to treat the material and to insure that he understands fully the applicable policies and standards. A report is prepared for the producer indicating the acceptability of the script or any appropriate revisions. Prior to broadcast the program is also reviewed at the rough cut, final cut, and editing stages, and appropriate revisions are made if deemed necessary.

Feature films that have been produced by others for initial theatrical release are screened prior to acquisition by ABC to determine whether major or minor deletions will be required or, as is not uncommon, whether a particular film is completely unacceptable. After acquisition, the films are screened again to review prior judgments and, as an additional measure, the edited versions are viewed prior to telecast to insure compliance with broadcast standards and practices directives. Films which are acceptable with revisions are edited by Broadcast Standards, in conjunction with a film editor and, often, with the original director. Editing is done with the intention of preserving the integrity of the original film, while making it suitable for airing by a wide and diverse audience.

In certain circumstances, an audio and video advisory is broadcast before the start of programs to give parents the opportunity to exercise discretion with regard to younger viewers. We are careful, however, not to use such an advisory in a manner that could cause it to become an invitation for viewing.

Prior to broadcast, we send to all our affiliated stations, including our owned television stations, detailed information about programs scheduled for broadcast. This information consists of Advanced Program Advisory bulletins detailing the content of prime time entertainment programs, and closed-circuit previews of these programs on a regularly scheduled rotational basis. We also hold annual meetings for affiliate managers where we discuss programming plans.

Before producing any new program series, the American Broadcasting Company's policies and standards are reviewed with the producer of each series and his staff. At these meetings, we stress ABC's policies concerning violence:

Violent behavior, when it is portrayed, must be reasonably related to the storyline or plot development and be responsibly depicted. We will not permit the portrayal of violence for the sake of violence itself, or as a device to titilate the viewers, to shock, or to sensationalize a story line.

We will not permit authors who have written themselves into a corner to extricate themselves quickly with a little bloodshed. The consequences of violent behavior upon both the aggressor and the victim should be portrayed. In addition, we minimize the use of acts of personal violence in teasers, prologues, and promotional announcements.

It is clear that gratuitous violence serves no useful purpose. Similarly, while any act may be emulated, we are extremely cautious in avoiding the portrayal of specific, detailed techniques involved in the use of weapons, the commission of crimes, or avoidance of detection. In short, every effort is made to insure that protrayals of violence for its own sake, or unnecessary depictions of excessive force, are excluded from our presentation.

There are, of course, pro-social aspects of aggression that deserve note. Competing to win and fighting back are positive values in our social heritage. Force in the service of discipline and in the preservation of society and social order are forms of aggression that can be used positively. Enforcement of parental standards, community standards, and the law itself often require the element of aggression. The limits separating all these from gratuitous violence are not always clearly defined in our culture and society, but are part of the responsibility we assume in developing our guidelines.

Moreover, in those programs that contain violent depictions and criminal activities, glorification is avoided so that the protrayals may have the effect of reinforcing real-life prohibitions, thereby acting as a suppressor of violence. In this regard, strong anti-violent statements, requiring violent portrayals for adequate plot development, were contained as a central theme in "Pueblo", "I Will Fight No More Forever", "21 Hours at Munich", "Victory at Entebbe", "Roots", "Attica", "When She Was Bad", "Off the Minnesota Strip", "Revenge for a Rape", "Intimate Strangers", and "Masada".

With respect to programming which deals with significant moral or social issues and current topical treatments, it is a requirement that the presentation of this material be accomplished unexploitatively, non-sensationally, and responsibly.

A practice begun in 1973, which has since become a regular procedure, is the conducting of periodic in-service training workshops for editors under the supervision of our independent psychiatric consultant, Dr. Melvin Heller, and the Social Research Department. Each three-day intensive session, conducted on the West Coast, has concentrated on the areas of children's programs, violent portrayals, and adult program themes. By utilizing scripts and recently-televised programs, an on-going dialogue is pursued. In this manner, an effective means is created for the continued development and refinement of guidelines to sharpen our practices, to help us avoid errors in subjective judgment, and to meet the established criteria.

As a result of these workshops, Dr. Heller authored a reference book entitled "Broadcast Standards Editing", which has been of great assistance to the Department. This manual, which I would be happy to submit for the record, is currently the definitive work for understanding and applying the theoretical and practical bases for rational standards in television broadcasting. It helps editors and others responsible for broadcast standards to make responsible, frequently subtle and difficult decisions and judgments by better educating and equipping them for the task of script evaluation.

ABC has made a special effort to understand the effects of televised violence on children. We commissioned, at a cost of one million dollars, two studies which were completed several years ago after five years' work. These studies, which I would also be happy to submit for the record, resulted in findings which have subsequently guided our work.

One series of studies, conducted by Lieberman Research, Inc., under the direction of Dr. Seymour Lieberman, Ph.D., explored the effects of televised violence and programs with pro-social messages on 10,000 normal school children, aged 8-13. Dr. Lieberman developed an instrument and techniques which employed a new behavioral device (electric pounding machine) which measures and records the force of a child's blow before and after viewing of televised materials, assessing in that manner the degree of aggressiveness in children.

A separate five-year series of projects, supervised by Dr. Heller and his colleague, the late Dr. Samuel Polsky, utilized numerous psychological and behavioral measures for examination of the effects of televised violence on emotionally-impaired youngsters and institutionalized youngsters from broken homes who might be considered most susceptible to any adverse effects of televised violence. In addition, the Heller and Polsky studies focused on the impact of television on known violent youthful offenders.

Among a number of findings, the reports, in summary form, concluded that while imitative risks existed in post-viewing aggression by certain youngsters, television did not cause assaultive, violent anti-social behavior in children; that exposure to violent television content did not lead to heightened aggressive behavioral violence, but did increase aggressive tendencies in psychological test scores, fantasies, and play; that there was no demonstrable relationship between the intensity of violent behavior; that television programs with more aggressive content produced more aggressive fantasies, and exposure to programs with less aggressive content resulted in decreased aggressive fantasies, play, and preoccupation. It was also found that though television viewing was not a causal factor in the development of violent behavioral tendencies among youthful offenders, television sometimes provided a model for the imitation of anti-social techniques in the commission of crimes in persons predisposed to crime.

In order to implement our policies more objectively with respect to the portrayal of violence, and in light of our workshops and studies, ABC has developed the Incident Classification and Analysis Form ("ICAF") -- a device intended to aid Broadcast Standards in deciding whether the amount of violence, overall, in a television program is excessive. Although Dr. Wurtzel will address this project in more detail, in brief, the ICAF is a method designed to examine and review the portrayal of violence on both a qualitative and quantitative basis. We feel that it is improper not to make distinctions between those incidents that may cause tension, distress, or increased aggressive behavior in audiences, and those that are unlikely to do so. We also believe it is a mistake not to make a distinction between a comedic aggressive act and a violent criminal one. Thus, this system relates an episode of violence in terms of its seriousness; its realism; its relationship in context to humor, to fantasy, to human consequences.

One of the principal features of the ICAF methodology is a Weighting System to develop a numerical score for every program. The rationale behind a Weighting System is that different types of violent behaviors have different effects upon viewers. It is logical to assume that a murder depicted on a televison show will have a different impact on the average viewer than a TV depiction of a child slapping a playmate. The weighting of various acts according to: (1) their severity, and

(2) the context within which the viewer perceives them, enables us to more accurately reflect the violence which is contained within any television program.

Another important reason behind the development of the Weighting System is to provide Broadcast Standards with a reliable measure of program content so that comparisons between program episodes and among different programs can be made relatively quickly and accurately.

It should be noted that programs which contain portrayals of violence comprise only a part of our total broadcast day and only a portion of our prime time offerings. Our programming philosophy proceeds from the fact that we are a mass medium. We present material primarily for a national audience, while providing programming for specialized audiences as well. We realize it is not possible to satisfy all of the people all of the time. We can, however, satisfy most of the people most of the time, through a commitment to diversity within our program service. We offer as varied a menu of television fare as creative talent can provide -- news, public affairs, information, discussion, sports, comedy, variety, action, history, drama, adventure, mystery, biography, fantasy. Whether it is "Roots" or "Masada", the Olympics or the Fonz, "Code Red" or "Laverne and Shirley", we try to have something in our schedule to appeal to everyone. Our viewers are old and young, rich and poor, urban and rural, male and female, of all races, with a variety of needs and interests of unimaginable scope.

ABC's dramatic program development reflects a continuing effort to present new and different forms throughout the evening. There are mini-series, docudramas, and other new program forms. In addition, we are emphasizing the development of melodrama, fantasy, and contemporary drama.

Notwithstanding this emphasis on diversity, programs containing conflict have a legitimate place in a varied program schedule. Throughout history, the essence of some drama has been conflict, and in such works violence has always been one means to resolve conflict. "Hamlet", considered by many the finest play in the English language, contains a poisoning, a stabbing, a suicide, two executions, and a fatal duel. Although 130 million people saw "Roots", few complained to ABC about the portrayals of violence therein, and certainly it would have been impossible to depict the conditions of slavery honestly without such portrayals. Likewise, in "Masada", it would have been impossible to depict the tragic plight of the Jewish "Zealots" without portrayals of violence.

There is no question, also, that violence is as much a part of life today as in previous eras and warrants appropriate representation in a diverse schedule. A dramatic presentation that attempted a realistic portrayal of contemporary urban life without addressing itself to human conflict would lack credibility among most viewers.

We are very proud of our diversified schedule this year, including comedies such as "Barney Miller", "Mork and

Mindy", "Benson", "Happy Days", "Best of the West", and "Taxi"; action-adventure, such as "Strike Force", "Today's FBI", and "Hart to Hart"; dramas such as "Code Red" and "Dynasty"; and news and sports.

In sum, our goals are, on the one hand, to develop and encourage a diversified program schedule which seeks to evolve new forms, varied program fare, and broader choice for the audience, while, on the other hand, to direct and intensify our efforts in the broadcast standards area toward responsibile presentation of acts of violence in action programs.

And a final word: while we recognize our responsibility to treat this concern in the manner in which I have stated, we also recognize that it is a shared obligation. There is no substitute for discriminating, attentive parental supervision. While we must exercise a great deal of care with respect to what children watch, we must also remember that we serve the total audience, and to do so we must maintain television as a vigorous, vital and changing medium.

Thank you for affording me the opportunity to share ABC's views with you.

Mr. **Mottl**. Next we will hear from Gene Mater.

STATEMENT OF GENE P. MATER

Mr. **Mater**. Mr. Chairman, I welcome this opportunity to discuss the depiction of violence in television programing and to outline the views of CBS in this area.

With me is Dr. David Blank, vice president and chief economist of CBS, and head of the CBS Department of Economics and Research.

Of all the media that have been blamed for the bad, and credited with the good of society, probably none has been studied as much as television.

Indeed, it is quite possible that more social scientists have spent more time and more money studying the role of television in our society than that of all other media combined.

Unfortunately, we are no closer today to a consensus regarding that impact than we were 10 years ago. If anything, today there is probably a greater divergence of views about television's social role than was true a decade ago.

Just as panels of respected social scientists can be assembled who believe that there is a cause and effect relationship between television viewing and one aspect or another of human behavior, equally prestigious panels can be assembled to offer a totally different view.

I would like to submit for the record some evidence of this divergence. [See pp. 50, 96.]

Mr. **Mottl**. Without objection, that will be included.

Mr. **Mater**. In no way are we disparaging the efforts of the social research community, for these efforts are important to all of us. Instead, it is important to note that there is no unanimity regarding the results and meanings of these studies.

It is easy but unfortunate to consider television and television alone in the discussion of social issues, easy because television is the most pervasive medium we have known, unfortunate because with this single focus we ignore many of the root causes of societal ills.

But in any examination of television's role in our society, we suggest that there are two elements that must be considered.

First, there is the fact that we do not live in a television vacuum; we do not rely solely on that medium. We are supplied with information and entertainment from a host of other sources—newspapers, magazines, books, motion pictures and radio, which have been attacked in the past as television is today, plus the new technologies already available such as cable, cassettes, discs and other means of communication.

Further, there are other elements that greatly influence our way of life—the home, school, church and peer groups.

In examining factors that may influence our behavior, we consider it unwise to place undue focus on one factor—television.

Second, broadcasters recognize their responsibility and are responsive to the audience.

The depiction of violence on television became a major public issue in 1972, with the issuance of the Surgeon-General's report.

Although that report was not conclusive about a possible cause and effect relationship between televised violence and aggressive behavior, CBS and other broadcasters responded to the concerns reflected in the report.

At the same time, CBS started its own scientific monitoring of the depiction of violence on television. Initially, we did so with two sample weeks as other researchers do.

When it became apparent that there was no typical, sample week of network television, we expanded our monitoring activities to include 13 alternate weeks to represent the entire season.

The result: In the most recent television season, 1980–1981, there were approximately 25 percent fewer acts of violence in prime time dramatic programing for the three networks combined than in our first monitoring some 10 years ago. This information is summarized in a report which we would be pleased to provide to this committee.

Mr. MOTTL. We would like to have it and will keep the record open for you to submit to us.

Without objection, the report will be made part of the record. [See p. 64.]

Mr. MATER. Of couse, no responsible critic of televised violence has suggested that the violence which is all too much a part of the real world should be completely eliminated as a subject of dramatic treatment on television.

To remove all violence from televison would mean the nonbroadcast of award-winning entertainment series such as "M*A*S*H" and "The Hill Street Blues," such recent dramatic offerings as "Roots," "Holocaust," "All's Quiet on the Western Front," and "I, Claudius," and even children's classics such as "The Wizard of Oz."

While not attempting to eradicate violence as a legitimate element in televised fiction, CBS carefully scrutinizes its programing to eliminate gratuitous violence, to limit the number of violent incidents and to assure that these depictions are appropriately handled.

We will continue these efforts

We appreciate the opportunity to make this brief presentation and are prepared to respond to your question.

[Testimony resumes on p. 114.]

[Attachments to Mr. Mater's prepared statement follow:]

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RESEARCH ON TELEVISION VIOLENCE:
THE FACT OF DISSENT

Introduction

These hearings are being held just a few months short of a decade after release of the document popularly known as the Surgeon General's report. That report touches on many topics but is chiefly remembered for its emphasis on the question of whether violence in television breeds violence in our society.

Different answers to that question existed among social scientists before the report appeared, and the report itself was variously interpreted by the popular press. Such social scientists as wrote on the matter asserted either that the report had concluded that the causal relationship did in fact exist, or that it should have done so more firmly than it did. Professional dissent was extremely rare.

In the years since the publication of the report, the report itself and the underlying research have been examined and evaluated anew by social scientists and critics. A veritable mountain of research reports have issued from hundreds of new studies. Dissent, which was all but absent in the years immediately following upon the report, began appearing in the literature, blossomed by mid-decade, and is vigorously with us. According to Eli Rubinstein, formerly Vice Chairman of the committee which produced the report,

> ...the views today...are more black and white than grey. By that I mean opinions are more sharply divided than they were then. Paradoxically, the hundreds of studies done in the past decade have apparently served to support diametrically opposing conclusions. (Rubinstein, 1981)

Rubinstein correctly notes that the present division of professional opinion is hardly balanced. The majority of those who have been heard from assert that the cumulative research generally supports what will here be called, for short, "the violence hypothesis" -- the view that television violence produces violence in real life. A smaller number dissent. But the width and the bases of that dissent are nevertheless sufficient to refute the allegations of "consensus" that are from time to time voiced by the proponents of the violence hypothesis. Indeed, some of the proponents themselves dissent in important ways.

This statement cannot undertake to present a detailed or exhaustive picture of the extent and nature of dissent. It will demonstrate, however, that the dissent is considerable and basic, and that it deals both with the research and the implications of that research. It will not here be claimed that the dissent nullifies all the data to which the proponents of the violence hypothesis point. But it will be shown that the dissent is quite strong enough and sufficiently extensive in the topics it addresses to preclude for the present any valid assertion that the question is settled.

The Methodology of Individual Studies: A Basis of General Dissent

One major basis of dissent has been the methodology of particular studies and what can therefore validly be said about the studies in toto. Howitt and Cumberbatch (1975), for example, critically examined virtually all of the major studies on which the Surgeon General's report was based as well as various other studies outside the Surgeon General's research program. So also did Kaplan and Singer (1976), Lesser (1977), Brody (1977), and Krattenmaker and Powe (1978).1/

1/ Virtually all authors cited, unless otherwise stated, are or were at the time of writing their cited works, members of the staff or faculty of a department of psychology, sociology, a communications research center, or the like at an American, Canadian, or British college or university. Additionally, Eli A. Rubinstein was formerly Vice Chairman of the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee, which produced the Surgeon General's report; George Comstock was Senior Research Coordinator of that committee, and John P. Murray was Research Coordinator; Thomas G. Krattenmaker and L.A. Powe, Jr. were Professors of Law and the former had just become Codirector of the Network Inquiry Special Staff, FCC; Bruce M. Owen was with the Office of Telecommunications Policy, and Stephen Brody was a member of the Research Unit of the British Home Office. David M. Blank is an executive at CBS Inc., and Thomas E. Coffin, Sam Tuchman, and J. Ronald Milavsky are or were executives with the National Broadcasting Company.

In reference to experimental studies, these authors variously criticized such methodological and interpretive matters as the extreme differences between the artificial laboratory settings and normal home viewing, the possibility that the nature of the experiments contributed to their own results, and the dissimilarity between the behaviors operationally defined as "aggressive" and the interpersonal violence with which society was concerned. Correlational studies were criticized for such things as inadequate control of crucial variables, the questionable validity of ratings of aggression, and the inherent inability of the studies to demonstrate a causal relationship. The very few field experiments and longitudinal studies were for the most part individually criticized and found wanting.

In sum, these authors found methodological or interpretive flaws in virtually every study on which the proponents of the violence hypothesis relied, and concluded that the hypothesis was therefore devoid of valid research support. Lesser (1977), for example, asserted that

> ...the overwhelming body of research that purports to demonstrate a relationship between televised violence and violent behavior is shackled to untenable theoretical and methodological considerations that render the research findings virtually useless as evidence in social policy considerations.... In summary, the evidence does not provide support for the theses that televised violence is harmful to society or produces antisocial behavior at an individual or group level.

Generally similar conclusions were reached by Kaplan and Singer (1976) and other critics. Howitt and Cumberbatch (1975) went somewhat further to conclude that "Mass Media do not have any significant effect on the level of violence in society," a view echoed by Halloran (1980), while Brody (1977) noted that "social research has not been able unambiguously to offer any firm assurance" for or against the occurrence of "socially harmful effect[s]." Krattenmaker and Powe (1978) asserted that

> When the premises of these published conclusions are carefully examined...they do not support the violence hypothesis in any substantial way. Upon analyzing the methodologies and definitions employed by the researchers, a reasonable person must conclude that no acceptable evidence supports the violence hypothesis, despite the expenditure of several years and several million dollars.

Some of the leading proponents of the violence hypothesis readily agree that most individual studies, including those on which they principally rely, contain serious shortcomings and are vulnerable to criticism. Comstock (1980), for example, professed the value of the pertinent laboratory experiments for building and specifying theory, but noted also that by themselves -- and for many of the reasons cited by critics of the research -- "the experimental findings provided presumptive but insufficient evidence for effects on real-life behavior." He considers that the findings of the pertinent surveys are "not readily amenable to causal inference" and notes that a key longitudinal study (Lefkowitz, 1972, 1977), the "sole study...that attempted such inference...received such methodological criticism...that despite many [defenses by the authors]... its inferential status remains problematical." As regards field experiments, Comstock considers, on methodological grounds, that "although each of these studies[1] makes its own valuable contribution, as a group they constitute a record that compels caution in relying predominantly on the field experiment."

Statements of the inadequacies of specific studies or groups of studies are also found, passim, in the writings of other proponents of the violence hypothesis, e.g., Murray and Kippax (1979). Such authors typically assert that the many studies, with various flaws, produce findings in the same general direction, and that this "convergence" speaks for the validity of the findings.

Dissent Regarding the Works of Dr. Gerbner

Since 1967, George Gerbner and his associates have issued an annual report on the amount of violence in prime-time and Saturday morning television.

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[1] Comstock's critique covers both field experiments whose findings apparently support the violence hypothesis and field experiments whose findings do not support that hypothesis.

On the face of it, this seems like an authoritative analysis, but a closer look at the components of this violence count clearly indicates that Gerbner's measures go far beyond the areas that are a matter of public concern. Comic and accidental "violence," for example, are counted equally with episodes of crime or brutality. When, for example, lightening strikes, or Bugs Bunny falls into one of Elmer Fudd's traps, an incident of violence is recorded. Further, Gerbner counts as multiple incidents violent scenes in which a new person is brought into the action, a multiplier which is related more to how a scene is staged than how much violence appears on the screen.

Gerbner's major measure of change from one season to another is his "Violence Index," which includes not only the number of acts of violence observed, but also the proportion of programs containing any violence at all, the percent of characters who engage in violence, and other measures, all combined into one arbitrarily weighted "Index." Thus, as various critics have noted (Owen, 1972; Coffin & Tuchman, 1973; Blank, 1977; Krattenmaker and Powe, 1978), the Violence Index is an exercise in "adding apples and oranges." It is insensitive to the long-term downward trend in violence on television which has been recorded by CBS' own monitoring (see attached monitoring report). Gerbner analyzes only one week, or at most two weeks, of television programming a year -- and this at a time when programs appear and disappear at a rapid rate and when movies and specials that vary enormously in content from one week to another form a significant proportion of programming. In contrast, thirteen alternate weeks of programming are analyzed by the CBS monitoring unit each year in order to arrive at a more reliable figure.

Gerbner and his associates have taken their measures one step further and proposed that violence on television is creating an image of the world as a "mean and scary place" for viewers. Drawing on data from various surveys, the "cultivation analysis," as it is called, compares light and heavy viewers and concludes that heavy viewers are more likely to overestimate their chances of being involved in violence, to feel their neighborhoods are unsafe, to be afraid of walking alone at night, to be distrustful of people, and to show other signs of fearfulness and alienation. But other researchers who conducted their own investigations (Doob and Macdonald, 1979; Piepe et al, 1977) found that where people live is considerably more important than television in producing anxiety about crime. It is the residents of high-crime areas that are the most fearful and are also the heaviest viewers.

Paul Hirsch critically examined the statistical evidence and conceptual arguments presented by Gerbner and his associates and found "no consistent patterns to support the cultivation hypothesis in any of its various guises and formulations" (Hirsch, 1981). Using the same data-set analyzed by the Gerbner team, he found that nonviewers are consistently more fearful and distrustful than those who do watch television (Hirsch, 1980). He also questions how meaningful Gerbner's findings are in view of the fact that relating television viewing to astrological signs produces "statistically significant" associations very like those advanced by Gerbner. The Gerbner hypothesis is further brought into question by the results of another study (Hughes, 1980) that showed no relation between television viewing and fearfulness, if other factors relating to viewing, such as age, sex, and hours worked outside the home, are all properly taken into account.

In sum, these various criticisms suggest that Gerbner's dire visions of scared and unhappy heavy viewers should be considered nothing more than an unsubstantiated hypothesis. It is also ironic that while Gerbner attacks television for its fear-inducing elements, he is quite doubtful of the extent to which it generates serious violence. In his own words, "if the most consistent effect of viewing television violence were that it incited real acts of violence, we would not need elaborate research studies. The average sibling, parent, and teacher would be reeling from the blows of television-stimulated aggression" (Gerbner and Gross, 1980). To his mind, television's danger is not that it undermines the social order but that it maintains it; not that it incites violence but that it "cultivates acquiescence" to the powers that be.

Studies With Dissenting Findings

Dissent does not derive solely from critical analyses of studies whose findings appear to support the violence hypothesis. Dissent has also been engendered by studies whose findings quite explicitly do not support that hypothesis.

In one such study, completed before the Surgeon General's report was released, the investigators (Fechbach and Singer, 1971) manipulated the television diet of residents of different cottages in boys' schools. They found that those who saw violent television programs exhibited less aggression than did those whose television diet included very little violence. A later replication (Wells, 1973) suggested that other factors might have caused the difference and that the catharsis theory -- the theory that viewing television violence decreases aggression -- had probably not been upheld. It may be, however, that the study really reflected violence on television having no effect on viewer aggression rather than having an aggression-suppressing effect.

Two major studies with findings that do not support the violence hypothesis have been completed since the publication of the Surgeon General's report, one shortly thereafter and the other only now about to be published.

The earlier study, Milgram and Shotland (1973),[1] involved the exposure, in both captive and normal home viewing situations, of large numbers of teenagers and adults to a specially produced episode of a popular television series (Medical Center). The episode depicted a somewhat violent crime against property and the making of an abusive (though not obscene) telephone call. Samples of viewers were shortly afterward brought into circumstances in which they could repeat either or both of these acts with impunity. Those who viewed the test program proved no more likely than those who did not to commit the antisocial acts, and the authors concluded that if television was on trial for stimulating antisocial behavior, "the judgment of this investigation must be the Scottish verdict: Not proven."

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[1] The principal findings of this study were presented before its publication to the committee working on the Surgeon General's report. The study is accordingly briefly described within the report.

The more recent study, by Milavsky, involved the study of cohorts of young people over a several year period. Although the study has not yet been released, Rubinstein (1981) has quoted, as its conclusion, that it "did not find evidence that television violence was causally implicated in the development of aggressive behavior patterns among children and adolescents over the time periods studied."

The Feshbach and Singer study and the Milgram study have been shown to have weaknesses or at the least to pertain to limited specific situations. The Milavsky study has already been described by Rubinstein as "likely to provide a new argument about the relationship between televised violence and viewer aggression," and also likely to "provoke much discussion pro and con." Like the various studies whose findings seem to support the violence hypothesis, the three major studies which do not have already been said, or will be said, to be in some respects vulnerable to criticism or allegations of inconclusiveness. They nevertheless provide a major dissenting break in the alleged wall of consensus.

It should also be noted that the scientific adage that null findings are as important as confirmatory findings tends not to be honored by editors of scholarly journals. Studies whose findings do not support whatever hypothesis is under discussion are reportedly less likely to be accepted for publication than are the more dramatic reports of hypotheses confirmed.[1/] Chinks of dissent, in short, seem less likely than assent to become publicly visible.

Aggression or Interpersonal Violence? The Unresolved Question of Social Importance

As earlier noted, one of the bases of dissent among those who feel that the violence hypothesis has not been confirmed involves the kind of behavior which is labeled as "aggressive" in laboratory studies.

[1/] For fuller discussion, see Krattenmaker and Powe (1978), p. 1154, and other works there cited.

The critics contend that this behavior is very distant from the interpersonal violence about which society is concerned. They note that, for young children, such behavior typically involves the rough handling of toys which were meant to be handled roughly, while for adolescents and adults "aggression" typically consists of tiny increases in the intensity or duration of supposed electric shocks which the subjects have been directed to administer to a hidden person. The critics are unimpressed with the occasional variations in these procedures, and question whether the behaviors can even validly be regarded as "aggression," let alone interpersonal violence. Thus Lesser (1977) concluded that "the experimental measures do not appear to define genuine aggression" and generally similar or related views have been expressed by other critics (e.g., Brody, 1977; Krattenmaker and Powe, 1978).

Some proponents of the violence hypothesis agree that aggression in the laboratory experiments is quite limited, and point to the problems involved in pursuing such experiments with human subjects. Murray and Kippax (1979), for example, note that because of the "obvious ethical concerns," the experimental studies necessarily deal with "refracted aggression." But these considerations, while understandable, do not dispel the critics' contentions that the laboratory behavior can hardly be equated with true aggression or interpersonal violence.

The correlational and longitudinal studies have been less criticized from this point of view, although much of the behavior cited in those studies is limited to fantasy aggression or aggression in very limited forms. The correlational studies have, however, been more widely criticized on other grounds and have been repeatedly cited as for the most part inherently incapable of demonstrating causality.

On these bases, the whole body of pertinent research has been criticized by critics of the violence hypothesis for failing to indicate that violence in television induced any meaningful amount of socially abhorrent or criminal aggression, or explicit interpersonal violence. Some proponents of the violence hypothesis concede the lack. A summary statement to this effect was made in 1976, for example, by George Comstock, who had served as Senior Research Coordinator for the Surgeon General's committee and who had later presided, as senior editor, over the compilation of a definitive bibliography of some 2400 titles on television and human behavior.

> It is tempting to conclude that television violence makes viewers more anti-socially aggressive, somewhat callous, and generally more fearful of the society in which they live. It may, but the social and behavioral science evidence does not support such a broad indictment.
>
> The evidence on desensitization and fearfulness is too limited for such broad conclusions at this time. The evidence on aggressiveness is much more extensive, but it does not support a conclusion of increased anti-social aggression. Such a conclusion rests on the willingness of the person who chooses to sit in judgment to extrapolate from the findings on interpersonal aggression to more serious, non-legal acts.
>
> Most important, the evidence does not tell us anything about the degree of social harm or criminal antisocial [sic] violence that may be attributable to television. It may be great, negligible, or nil. (Quoted in Halloran, 1980)

Subsequent to the publication of the above statements, Belson (1978) published a study which involved self-reports of the commission of violent, criminal acts. Proponents of the violence hypothesis cited the study for dealing with such behavior while simultaneously conceding the controversiality of its techniques and some of its findings (e.g., Murray and Kippax, 1979; Comstock, 1980). And Comstock again stated, in a 1980 evaluation of the research literature, that although that literature had, in his opinion, "supported the hypothesis that such portrayals [i.e., television and film violence] increase viewer aggressiveness,...there is no compelling demonstration that such portrayals contribute to harmful crime and violence...."

As late as three months ago Rubinstein, summing up what had transpired in the last ten years, noted that "no unequivocal conclusion has been reached about the relationship between violence and aggression...[that] the full authenticity of cause and effect -- let alone its power -- is still subject to honest disagreement."

Policy Change?

Critics who generally reject as invalid the research allegedly supporting the violence hypothesis naturally find in the research no real basis for social concern and no grounds for changes in policy. Thus Krattenmaker and Powe (1978), both Professors of Law, studied the violence controversy from the point of view of both the validity of the research conclusions and First Amendment implications. On the basis of the research alone, they concluded:

> In sum, we do not believe that the available evidence concerning the impact of televised violence on society can or should lead one to conclude that any foreseeable regulatory program designed to inhibit or channel violent programming would be worth the costs of its implementation or could be supported by any acceptable view of rational policy formulation.

Psychologists Kaplan and Singer (1976) likewise concluded that "the evidence that TV causes aggression is not strong enough to justify restrictions in programming" and note the possibility:

> ...that focusing on television violence circumvents exploration of the major causes of violence in society. In the 'real world,' the effects of television violence on aggressive behavior may be minor. To uncover the major causes of violence, researchers should turn their attention to economic, developmental, social, and cultural factors — as well as to further TV studies. The television networks may have become an easy scapegoat, accepting undue blame for the violence in our world.

In taking this stance the critics of the violence hypothesis do not stand alone. Here, as in regard to other topics, they are joined to one or another degree by some of the principal supporters of the violence hypothesis. Murray and Kippax (1979), for example, consider it "quite clear" that there is "a relationship between violence on television and violence in society," but they note that the "relationship is not straightforward and there are many aspects which, in the absence of firm, replicated findings, must be dealt with on the level of reasonable scientific guesstimates." Nevertheless, they consider that "despite these caveats, there is sufficient cumulative evidence to warrant the view that televised violence is one factor in the production and maintenance of violence in society," and they note that "Other powerful candidates for the production of violence are such factors as the unequal distribution of income and resources as manifested in ethnic/racial/social class discrimination."

Perhaps most explicitly to the policy point are the conclusions of Dorr and Kovaric in their 1980 article titled "Some of the People Some of the Time -- But Which People? Televised Violence and Its Effects." After a review of what is known about pertinent demographic and individual differences, the authors list a number of possible alternatives, including controls on viewing at home, controls on what may be broadcast, and teaching people to alter their viewing patterns and their psychological susceptibility to "instigations to aggress." Commenting on this array, they state:

> When an alternative is inexpensive, voluntary, and unlikely to require much from the television industry or from regulatory agencies, it is easy to suggest its employment even if our evidence of need and efficacy is limited. For other alternatives it becomes desirable to have a stronger evidential base from which to argue.
>
> Assuming that our practice and policy decisions were to be made in a logical, evidence-based way, we certainly could not argue at this time for many large-scale changes. Only for delinquents and others who would be rated as above the norm in aggressiveness might one argue that serious changes in practice or policy could be considered. Yet, even here we lack information on what proportion of these individuals' aggressiveness is attributable to exposure to televised violence, on methods (other than decreasing exposure) for decreasing their susceptibility to such content, and on other strategies for decreasing their aggressiveness or for lessening its undesirable consequences.1/

1/ Dorr and Kovaric feel that the evidence justifies attempts to modify the viewing habits or susceptibilities of some demographic groups and persons "who are already considered to be more aggressive in their daily activities."

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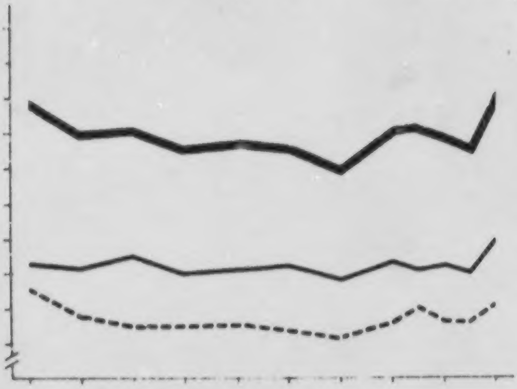
Featured Topic:

The Violence Index: An Exchange of Views



The Gerbner Violence Profile

DAVID M. BLANK

Since its inception in 1967, the Television Violence Profile has been the source of periodic discussion between social scientists and the networks. Recently, the debate was renewed with a series of letters and reports to Representative Lionel Van Deerlin, Chairman of the House Communications Subcommittee. The first of these, authored by CBS, questioned the methodology and assumptions underlying the profile. The Cultural Indicators Research Team, led by Dr. George Gerbner of the Annenberg School of Communication, replied to these criticisms in a similar report to Van Deerlin. Both parties then submitted rejoinders. The entire exchange follows in a four-part series. (Due to the length of the statements, we have, with permission of the authors, edited the reports to include the key sections.)

The CBS reports were authored by Dr. David Blank, Vice President and Chief Economist with CBS, Inc.

Each year for almost a decade George Gerbner and his associates at the Annenberg School of Communications have produced a report on depictions of violence on network television, titled the Violence Profile.[1] The current Violence Profile #8, reporting on fall 1976 television network programming, incorporates three distinct areas of study. The first is the well-known Violence Index; the second deals with so-called Risk Ratios, and the third is Gerbner's Cultivation Index. In this analysis, we deal with the first two areas of study.

With regard to the Violence Index, our review indicates that the Index itself is not a measure of the amount of violence on network television, that it may, and in fact often does, change over time in different directions from the changes in the amount of television violence and that it is, in substance, an arbitrarily weighted set of arbitrarily chosen measures of aspects of violence on television, whose meaning is totally unclear. It cannot be used as a measure of the trend of televised violence over the years, or as an indicator of whether that violence is increasing or decreasing.

Gerbner's count of violent incidents, which is only one component of the overall Violence Index, has numerous and fatal deficiencies. It includes kinds of dramatic incidents which should not be included—comic violence, accidents, natural disasters. It counts as multiple acts of violence, single incidents which should be counted as single incidents. And most importantly, it rests on a single week's sample at a time in the television industry's history when programs are constantly changing and when there are no longer any typical weeks.

The Risk Ratio analysis is equally defective. Instead of directly measuring relative risks among various population segments, Gerbner devised indirect measures which do not reflect the differences in actual risk among differing population segments nor, in all likelihood, do they correspond at all to viewer's perceptions. Simpler and more direct measurements of risks often show a totally different relationship among social groups from the Gerbner measures.

The Violence Index

The Gerbner Violence Index is deficient in a number of important ways and is, in fact, very misleading. First, the Violence Index itself is not, and does not purport to be, a measure of the amount of violence on television, although that is the way it is generally interpreted. The Violence Index is the sum of a number of measures, only one of which is Gerbner's count of violence. Another measure included in the Index, for example, is the proportion of leading characters engaged in violence. Because the Violence Index is composed of a number of factors in addition to the violence count itself, it is quite conceivable that the Violence Index could show a rise in a given year at the same time that Gerbner's own count of the amount of violence goes down.

That, in fact, is exactly what happened in the family viewing hour on CBS in the fall of 1976. Gernber's Violence Profile #8 states that "CBS . . . lifted its two-season lid on 'family viewing time' violence in 1976." In fact, the number of incidents of violence on CBS in the family viewing hour actually declined in 1976, according to the same Gerbner report. In the fall of 1975, according to Gerbner (Table 31), family viewing hour programs on CBS contained 20 incidents of violence; CBS family viewing hour programs in the fall of 1976, again according to Gerbner, contained only 11 incidents of violence![2] So the Violence Index is a measure which simply does not tell anyone whether violence on network programming is increasing or decreasing.

Other components of the Violence Index include measures of the proportion of programs that week containing any violence, of the rate of violence per program and per hour, and of the proportion of all leading characters involved in killings. These measures are combined by the use of a set of arbitrary weights. Indeed, the index is composed of so many varied and incomparable elements which are combined in such an arbitrary fashion that it is difficult to know what it means.[3]

Bruce Owen of the Office of Telecommunications Policy, in a staff research paper which addressed the meaning and validity of the Gerbner Index, stated that: "This exercise [i.e., combining and arbitrarily weighting the various components of the Violence Index] involves adding apples and oranges. . . . One is always free to add apples and oranges if one wishes, but it isn't at all clear what the result means, and some people may take it seriously." (See *Measuring Violence on Television: The Gerbner Index.* OTP Staff Research Paper OTS-SP-7, Bruce M. Owen, June 1972.) Unfortunately, many people have taken Gerbner's Violence Index seriously.

When Gerbner's violence count itself is examined, a variety of deficiencies are apparent. Violence is counted presumably to measure the number of incidents depicted on network television which might conceivably make potentially wayward youths wayward. On this view, Gerbner includes a number of kinds of dramatic action which clearly ought not to be included in a count of violence. Thus, he includes comic violence (e.g., a custard pie in the face on an "I Love Lucy" program), and injuries caused by accidents or acts of nature (e.g., injuries occurring in earthquakes or hurricanes). None of these, we think, are included in what reasonable citizens would consider to be potentially harmful dramatic forms.

A second difference in definition is related to a very complex set of social hypotheses which Gerbner superimposes upon his violence counts. Because Gerbner's hypotheses relate to the power relationships among individuals (men vs. women, whites vs. nonwhites, etc.), he counts as new violent actions, a period of violence in which a new person enters the action. Thus, if two men are fighting in a restaurant, and one of them knocks down a waiter while trying to escape, Gerbner would count this as two separate episodes of violence. Since we do not believe that the count of violence should be distorted by extraneous social theories, we feel that the proper count is the number of violent incidents themselves, not affected by changes in the participants of the action.

The result of these differences between the Gerbner measure of violence, and what we consider to be the more rational measure that we use, is that Gerbner's count results in a much higher number than is valid and may often move in an opposite direction than to that indicated by the count one would get on a more reasonable basis.

A final deficiency of the Gerbner violence count is the size of the sample Gerbner uses. Since its inception, the Gerbner effort has measured violence during one week a year. In the last two seasons, he has added a second week in the spring, purportedly to verify the results of the fall count, but he does not use this week in his year-to-year comparisons of the magnitude of violence.

From the beginning of our monitoring we felt that there was too much change between fall and spring network schedules to permit reliance on a single week's results. So we always measured two weeks a year, one in the initial network season and one in the so-called second network season. Several years ago, as the network schedules became increasingly variable from week to week with series being cancelled and new series being brought on board all through the year and with mini-series becoming a new programming category, we decided to review the statistical basis of our count. As a result of this review, we concluded that one could no longer make statistically valid comments about the level of violence on network television without a much larger sample of weeks. Accordingly, in the fall of 1975 we began to monitor 13 weeks a season and have continued that practice.

We have measured violence on the television networks for 13 weeks in each of two years; on the basis of these data we have learned that estimates of current year-to-year changes in television violence, based on single-week samples, are normally subject to too much random error to be valid. For we have found in the 1976-77 season that the range in the weekly number of incidents of violence on individual television networks is on the order of 2 1/2 or 3 to 1; that is, the week with the highest number of incidents of violence on any network was 2 1/2 or 3 times the number with the lowest number of incidents. Accordingly, we do not believe, for statistical reasons, that one can accept the Gerbner violence counts even if we waive the deficiencies of his definitions.

The Risk Ratio

Since 1969, Gerbner has made much of a statistic to which he variously refers as the "Victimization Ratio," "the Risk Ratio," the "Violence Victim Ratio," and which will here simply be called "RR." This statistic is obtained by noting, in reference to specific population subgroups, the number of such characters in "principal roles"[4] who are depicted as "violents" (aggressors), the number who are depicted as victims, and dividing the larger number by the smaller. If victims exceed violents, the figure is preceded by a minus sign; if violents exceed victims, by a plus sign.

Gerbner considers that these RR's "provide a calculus of life's chances for different groups of people in the world of television drama" (p.8). He occasionally modifies this description in an important manner by stating that the RR's are indices of "risks of victimization (relative to the ability to inflict violence)" (p. 8). As the terms "Victimization Ratio" and "Risk Ratio" suggest, he is primarily interested in the groups with minus sign RR's—i.e., those in which victims exceed violents. He considers the RR's indexes, or at least clues, to "conceptions of social reality that television viewing cultivates in the minds of viewers" (p. 8) regarding "the structure of power." In "Highlights of TV Violence Profile #8" he notes especially the high negative RR's of women, children, old women, unmarried women, and various other groups. Explicitly or implicitly, Gerbner regards the RR's as either distortions of social reality or perpetuations of existing stereotypes, regards negative RR's as reason to believe that viewers regard such groups as relatively powerless, and believes that viewers themselves become fearful of becoming victims of violence.

At least two important questions arise regarding the meaning of the RR and its presumed effects. First, the RR is not a measure of simple risk, in reference to which the number of "violents" is irrelevant. If, as Gerbner's tables show, 243 of 697 women (34.9 percent) in "principal roles" across 10 sample weeks since 1969 were depicted as "victims," what matter whether the number depicted as "violents" is, as he indicates, 184, or whether it is 284 or 26? The "risk" is the same. (Comparative risks are further discussed below.)

The RR is also not a measure of "victimization (relative to the ability to inflict violence)," since the *ability* to do so is not normally a theme of television drama. The fact that 513 of the 697 women were not portrayed as inflicting violence is not an indication of their *inability* to do so. What the RR actually measures is victimization relative to the *commission* of violence. The implications of such an index are somewhat difficult to conceive.

Second, it is very difficult to believe that viewers would become aware, consciously or unconsciously, of the differential RR's—i.e., the relative proportions of different groups which are depicted as violents or victims, and the differences between groups in this regard. It is not at all difficult to believe, however, that viewers would become to one or another degree aware of something much simpler and more easily statistically stated, namely, that certain groups are more often victims than others (or more often violent than others, or more often involved in violence, one way or another, than others).

Maintaining the emphasis on risk, the more telling statistics would seem to be the simple number of persons in that group who are depicted as victims, or, for somewhat greater refinement, the percentage so depicted (the number of victims divided by the total number of persons in that group who are depicted at all). These are, to the best of our knowledge, the measures used in calculating risks of contracting given diseases, the likelihood of being in an automobile accident, and other "risk" statistics.

When Gerbner's tables are examined in terms of these simpler statistics, what emerges is often a very different picture from the RR. Briefly, it is frequently found that a group with a *higher* RR than other groups is both numerically and proportionately *less* often depicted either as involved in violence at all or as victims.

By way of example, women have a higher RR (-1.32) than do men (-1.20). The simpler statistics (Gerbner's Table 44) reveal that Gerbner observed 2,328 male characters, of whom 1,604 (68.9 percent) were involved in violence and 1,400 (60.1 percent) depicted as victims. In comparison, 697 females were observed, of whom 311 (44.6 percent) were involved in violence and 243 (34.9 percent) depicted as victims. Of what is the viewer more likely to become aware: the complex fact that female victims outnumbered female violents to a greater degree than male victims outnumbered male violents, or the simpler facts that, both in terms of absolute numbers and proportionately, women were less often than men involved in violence at all, and far less often than men depicted as victims? This same sort of situation applies to various other groups which Gerbner notes as having high RR's.

In summary, the RR is not a measure of *risk* as such, and the simpler and more telling statistics often reveal that groups with *higher* RR's than others are in fact *less often* than the others depicted as victims, both numerically and proportionately to their depiction.

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[1] We are aware that the authorship of current Violence Profiles is credited to a number of people in addition to George Gerbner. However, for ease of reference and because Gerbner is normally the spokesman for the group, we refer to the various materials produced by the group as if they were prepared by Gerbner alone.

[2] All page and table references herein relate to Violence Profile #8.

[3] The formula for the Gerbner Violence index is:

$$100\frac{P_v}{P} + 2\frac{R}{P} + 2\frac{R}{H} + 100\frac{N_v + N_k}{N};$$

where, P_v is the number of programs containing any violence; P is the number of programs; R is the number of violent episodes; H is the number of hours of programming; N_v the number of leading characters involved in violence; N_k the number of leading characters involved in killing or death; and N, the number of leading characters.

[4] On p.14 of his Violence Profile #8, Gerbner states that "The findings summarized in this report include the analysis of major characters only." He defines "major characters" as those in "principle roles essential to the story," whereas "minor characters (subjected to a less detailed analysis) are all other speaking roles." It is therefore here assumed that the RR applies only to "major characters."

"The Gerbner Violence Profile"—An Analysis of the CBS Report

THE CULTURAL INDICATORS RESEARCH TEAM

The Cultural Indicators Research Team is composed of George Gerbner, Larry Gross, Michael F. Eleey, Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, Suzanne Jeffries-Fox and Nancy Signorielli. (Readers are reminded that all four parts of this extended discussion are best read together, as constant reference is made to remarks in previous articles in the series.)

The CBS report deals with two of three areas of the annual Violence Profile. It discusses the Violence Index and the Risk Ratios showing relative levels of victimization. . . .

Organized in logical order, the CBS report focuses on four main criticisms:

1. The Violence Index is deficient because (a) it defines violence too broadly and (b) it is composed of "an arbitrarily weighted set of arbitrarily chosen measures of violence on television, whose meaning is totally unclear."
2. The Violence Index employs faulty units of analysis because "It counts as multiple acts of violence, single incidents which should be counted as single incidents."
3. A single week's sample is inadequate for representing an entire television season.
4. "The Risk Ratio analysis is equally defective" because it measures relative rather than absolute victimization which "in all likelihood" does not correspond "to viewers' perceptions."

Each of these claims rests on erroneous—if convenient—assumptions and result in highly misleading conclusions. We shall analyze them in turn.

The Index

CBS claims that the Violence Index is deficient because "It includes kinds of dramatic incidents which should not be included—comic violence, accidents, natural disasters." The report suggests the unlikely example of a "pie in the face," and amplifies its conception of what *should* be included: violence "which might conceivably make potentially wayward youths wayward" and violence "in what reasonable citizens would consider to be potentially harmful dramatic forms."

The fact is that our analysis of television content as reported in the Violence Index does not presume effects—useful or harmful. The reporting of trends in the Gross National Product, the Employment Index, or in weather conditions, cannot depend on the presumed effects of the facts being reported, be they good, bad, indifferent, or mixed. CBS confuses communications *content* with the scientific study of communications *effects* and thus ignores our study of television viewers. Yet only by studying the conceptions and behaviors of the public, rather than speculating about "wayward youths" or what seems "potentially harmful," can one determine the actual consequence of exposure to any form of violence.

CBS would also prefer to discount all violence in a comic context, which is especially frequent in children's programming. But CBS recently published, "They Learn While They Laugh," a public relations booklet extolling the educational virtues of its children's programming, including cartoons. The weight of scientific evidence, including the recent Rand Corporation research summaries compiled by George Comstock, indicates that a comic context is a highly effective form of conveying serious lessons. If CBS wants to maintain that comedy teaches only what they wish for it to teach, the burden of proof lies with them.

Overall, the Violence Index for fall 1976 shows that violence occurs at the average rate of nearly 10 incidents per program hour. Yet CBS—and other industry spokesmen—typically attack these findings by the supposedly disarming example of the "pie in the face." First, we do not think there has been "a pie in the face" in one of our samples of TV drama in a long time. Second, the Violence Index rules specifically exclude any non-credible comic gesture or verbal abuse. We classify as violence only the credible indication or actual infliction of overt physical pain, hurt, or killing. Thus, if a pie in the face does that—which depends on the actual incident—it is violence and should be so recorded.

The contention that "serious" violence is only what "reasonable citizens would consider harmful" is equally specious. It again confuses communication content with the assessment of effects. For example, we know from independent studies of the physical environment and of foods and pharmaceuticals that citizens are not necessarily aware of the full range of consequences of many of our industrial activities and products, including the products of the television industry. That is why independent research is needed. That is why the scientific diagnosis of a complex cultural-industrial phenomena—such as television—cannot be left to conventional wisdom, and even less to rationalizations by the corporate interests involved.

CBS also argues for the exclusion from the definition of TV violence dramatic incidents portraying "accidents," and "acts of nature." But there are no "accidents" in fiction. The author invents (or the producer inserts) dramatic disasters and "acts of nature" for a purpose. The pattern of violent victimization through such inventions may be a significant and telling part of television violence. It is hardly accidental that certain types of characters are accident-prone or disaster-prone in the world of television. Such TV content patterns may have significant effects on some viewers' conceptions of life and of their own risks in life. These patterns are, therefore, important to report if one is concerned with the full range of potentially significant consequences.

Another objection raised by CBS is that the Violence Index includes a set of measures rather than only a single indicator, and that different measures may move in different directions. The CBS report also cites on OTP Staff paper by Bruce M. Owen as complaining that the Index "involves adding apples and oranges." CBS could just as easily criticize any set of comprehensive indicators such as the GNP, labor statistics, or the weather report.

As pointed out in our response to the Owen paper (dated July 13, 1972, and also distributed through OTP but not cited by CBS), the usefulness of any index is precisely that it combines measures of different aspects of a complex phenomenon. One *must* add apples and oranges if one wants to know about *fruit*.

The Violence Index reports all its components separately as well as in combination. That has made it possible for any user of the Violence Index, including CBS, to observe the movement of each component, and to weight each as they see fit.

The CBS report correctly notes that the absolute number of violent incidents in CBS family hour programs declined in 1976, while other components of the Index showed an increase. CBS fails to discuss the nature of these other measures. It also ignores the reasons for including them in the Index. Mr. Schneider's letter further confuses the issue by claiming that the Index rose "apparently because we had the 'wrong people' involved in the action."

The *kind* of people involved had nothing to do with it. As Table 31 of Violence Profile No. 8 (to which the CBS report refers) clearly shows, 23.1 percent of *all* leading CBS family hour characters were involved in violence in 1975, compared to 31.8 percent in 1976. Even more important, violence was more broadly distributed in 1976 CBS family hour programming, making it more difficult for viewers to avoid (or have their children avoid) violence during family viewing time. While in the 1975 sample only 27.3 percent of CBS family hour programs contained violence, in the 1976 sample 62.5 percent contained violence. So, although the number of violent acts was reduced in 1976, the percent of leading characters involved in violence increased and violence was found in many more programs. Much as we emphasize with the CBS attempt to get credit for partial effort, we cannot agree that such contrary evidence should be covered up or omitted from the index.

Units of Analysis

The CBS complaint about counting multiple acts of violence when single acts should be counted is unfounded. In the tradition of such research since the first studies of the 1950's, our coding instructions specify that a violent act is "a scene of some violence confined to the same agents. Even if the scene is interrupted by a flashback, etc., as long as it continues in 'real time' it is the same act. However, if new agent(s) enter the scene it becomes another act."

The CBS coding instructions define a violent act as "One sustained, dramatically continuous event involving violence, with essentially the same group of participants and with no major interruption in continuity." The two definitions are similar except for the ambiguous CBS qualification of "essentially." As the criteria for determining the "essential" set of agents are not specified, the CBS rule permits the arbitrary and subjective manipulation of the unit of violence. Such ambiguity not only tends to reduce the reliability of the measure but also gives the coder employed by CBS the opportunity to stretch the rule on which all other measures depend. For example, under the CBS rule it would be possible to ignore shifting participation in a long series of violent scenes, possibly involving an entire program, as not "essential" and thus to code the whole program as a single violent incident. Such a defective measure cannot be accepted as the basis for the sole standard of network performance.

Sampling

CBS asserts that "Dr. Gerbner only measures one week of television, which can lead to statistical errors of horrendous proportion." Elsewhere the report states that CBS research found wide variability in its own count of violent incidents.

Plausible as that claim seems, in fact it reflects the limitations, instabilities, and ambiguities of the CBS definition. Our own interest in assessing the representativeness of the one-week sample led to an initial analysis in 1969, to repeated spring-season test samplings in 1975 and 1976 and to an analysis of six additional weeks of fall 1976 programming. These studies indicate that while a larger sample may increase precision, given our operational definitions and multi-dimensional measures that are sensitive to a variety of significant aspects of TV violence, the one-week sample yields remarkably stable results with high cost-efficiency.

With respect to the number of violent actions per program (the measure of most concern to CBS) our six-week analysis found the same rank-order of the three networks no matter which week was chosen, except for one instance when ABC and CBS were tied (see Table I).

CBS claims it found that the week with the highest number of incidents on any network had 2.5 to 3 times the number of incidents of the lowest week. We found in our six-week test that this multiple was 1.98 to one for CBS; for the others, it was even less: 1.29 to one for NBC, 1.23 to one for ABC.

The explanation for the discrepancy between our results and those of CBS lies more in differences of methodology than of sampling. CBS limits its observation of violence to those acts its coders presume to be intentionally harmful and excludes the majority of

TABLE I

Analysis of Six Weeks of Fall 1976 Programming

	Test Sample Week						
	1	2	3	4	5	F76*	Total
Total							
No. of programs	58	58	57	58	61	61	353
No. of violent acts	345	342	365	365	341	342	2,100
Rate (Acts per program)	5.9	5.9	6.4	6.3	5.6	5.6	5.9
ABC							
No. of programs	20	20	19	19	20	19	117
No. of violent acts	114	107	112	132	116	110	691
Rate (Acts per program)	5.7	5.4	5.9	6.9	5.8	5.8	5.9
Network rank	2	2	1.5	2	2	2	2
CBS							
No. of programs	22	21	22	21	21	24	131
No. of violent acts	90	91	130	97	66	84	558
Rate (Acts per program)	4.1	4.3	5.9	4.6	3.1	3.5	4.3
Network rank	1	1	1.5	1	1	1	1
NBC							
No. of programs	16	17	16	18	20	18	105
No. of violent acts	141	144	123	136	159	148	851
Rate (Acts per program)	8.8	8.5	7.7	7.6	8.0	8.2	8.1
Network rank	3	3	3	3	3	3	3

*Fall 1976 week reported in *Violence Profile No. 8.*

violent presentations they judge to be "comedic" or "accidental." These arbitrary limitations involve much subjective speculation and introduce variability and instability leading to gross statistical aberrations.

Sharply reducing both the number and potential reliability of observations, and then limiting the analysis to a single unstable measure, do indeed lead to "statistical errors of horrendous proportion." These are the errors that our broadly-based and precisely operationalized methods are designed to overcome.

Risk Ratios

The Violence Index reports absolute as well as relative risks. It makes clear, for example, that women are less likely to get involved in violence on television than men. But it also finds that, when involved, relatively more women than men end up as victims.

CBS claims that relative victimization (i.e. victimization compared to the commission of violence across different social types) is difficult to grasp, and is, therefore, a "meaningless statistic."

We must repeat that the validity of a TV content indicator does not depend on viewers' conscious understanding of its meaning. Our Cultivation Analysis shows that exposure to violence-laden television drama cultivates a sense of exaggerated fear and mistrust in the minds of heavy viewers. Young women—with an especially unfavorable Risk Ratio—are particularly affected, despite the fact that in absolute terms they are not as likely to get involved in violence as are the men. What CBS terms "meaningless statistic" turns out to be potentially important in its consequences.

Our analysis of the CBS report and methodology confirms the judgment of social scientists, legislators, and the general public that only a scientifically tested, independent, and comprehensive set of indicators, measuring both TV content and effects, can be the basis for judging network performance. Our experience indicates that the Violence Index and Profile provide such a set of indicators. For independent confirmation, we recommend the findings of an international panel of distinguished industry-affiliated and academic social scientists charged by the Social Science Research Council conducting a year- long investigation "to conceptualize and give scientific context to the research required for the development of a multi-dimensional profile of violence in television programming." The recommendations, published in the *Annual Report* for 1974-75 of the Social Science Research Council (pages 67-72), provide broad scientific support for the general direction and methodology of the Violence Index and Profile and offer advice which is directly opposed to the CBS methodology. A detailed study comparing the Violence Index and Profile with CBS methods will be published in the near future, providing further documentation.

Final Comments on the Violence Profile

DAVID M. BLANK

Below are the key sections of the CBS response to the analysis of the Cultural Indicators Research Team.

The Violence Index

The Gerbner response to our evaluation of the Violence Index touches on four areas of our disagreement: Gerbner's overly-broad definition of violence, the arbitrary weighting of the components of the Gerbner Index, the definition of a violent incident in terms of the persons involved rather than the continuity of the incident itself, and the statistically deficient use of a single week's sample. We discuss each of these questions in turn.

Comic Violence

By far the most attention is paid to our view that comic and accidental violence, and violence resulting from acts of nature, ought not to be included in any measure of the amount of violence. We continue to believe that this is the correct position.

To support his stand, Gerbner makes four points. First, his measure is neutral—it "does not presume effects useful or harmful." He justifies this view by analogizing with the reporting of trends in the Gross National Product on the employment index or in weather conditions. But this is nonsense. In all of these areas, what is reported is, in fact, reported because the devisers of these measures, after much discussion within their respective professions, have concluded that their measures report on phenomena which are of consequence to society. The inclusion in weather reports of a wind-chill factor or a sunburn index, or the proposals for changes in the employment index or exclusion from the GNP measure of financial transactions, all result from closely-reasoned efforts to measure phenomena which are of social or physical consequence.

For Gerbner and his colleagues to say that they don't know what forms of violence are important and, therefore, they will, by default, include anything that anyone might conceivably include simply avoids the basic question of where the boundary line should be drawn, and why.

Second, Gerbner refers to our work at CBS on the significant amount of transmission of social messages in selected Saturday morning children's television programs, a research program in which we have invested much time and resources and of which we are very proud. He attacks our exclusion of comic violence on the basis that our research demonstrated that children can receive prosocial messages in a comic context. He ignores the fact that these programs were designed to convey and reinforce messages of a socially acceptable, socially reinforced nature. It is a long and unsupported jump to the assumption that children are picking up hidden messages of violence from comic routines.

Third, Gerbner suggests that we have exaggerated the irrationality of the inclusion of comic violence by giving "a pie in the face" as an example of the kind of comic act he would include but which most others, would not. Gerbner says he does not think there has been "a pie in the face" in one of their samples of television drama in a long time. Since Gerbner refuses to identify the weeks he has chosen as samples, we cannot completely determine the accuracy of this comment. But, we have found many incidents of innocuous "violence" in prime-time television during the current and prior seasons that we know from our dealings with the Gerbner group, would be counted as acts of violence. For example, Ted Baxter on the "Mary Tyler Moore" show did push a pie into someone's face, and this would count as violent; when Phyllis' grandmother, in a fit of pique, kicked someone in the ankle, this was also a violent act by Gerbner's standards and when Charlie Brown once again missed a placekick in a dramatic fall because Lucy pulled the ball away, this is also considered violent.

Fourth, the reply comments on our view that serious violence is that violence which reasonable citizens consider harmful. Gerbner views this as a specious view and argues again that this "confuses communications content with the assessment of effects." But surely neither Gerbner nor anyone else would measure *all* aspects of content. Only those aspects of content which are meaningful in some sense or other should be measured or else the researcher is simply wasting time and money. And someone *must* decide what is meaningful. In our view, comic and accidental violence is simply not meaningful in the context in which the debate over television violence is being conducted.

Accidents

Gerbner then turns to our view that accidents and acts of nature ought not to be included in the definition of violence. His defense of their inclusion in the Violence Index is that "there are no 'accidents' in fiction. The author invents (or the producer inserts) dramatic disaster and 'acts of nature' for a purpose." But this is sheer sophistry. It is equivalent to saying that Greek tragedy does not really portray the inexorable inevitability of fate because the dramatist could have chosen to have written the play differently!

In truth, the point here is not what is in the author's mind but what is in the dramatic vehicle, and we continue to believe that, because accidents and acts of nature do not involve interpersonal violence, their inclusion is inappropriate for any violence count that attempts to measure dramatic incidents that might engender violence in the real world.

The Calculation of the Index

We turn now to a discussion of our second major area of objection to the Violence Index, namely, (a) that it is not, and does not purport to be, a simple measure of violence, and (b) that it is in fact an arbitrarily weighted sum of arbitrarily chosen programming characteristics; this weighted sum has some undefined relationship to violence.

The first problem is that while the Index, as we have earlier pointed out, includes measures other than the number of acts of violence, it is generally treated by others as if that alone is what is being described. Gerbner states that the "Violence Index reports all its components separately as well as in combination. That has made it possible for any user of the Violence Index, including CBS, to observe the movement of each component, and to weigh each as they see fit." But that is disengenuity at its worst. For years, in Gerbner's own discussion of violence, in his testimony at hearings, and in his reports, little reference was made to any other measure than his Violence Index.

Thus, in his most recent Violence Profile No. 8 issued in March 1977 and covering the 1976-77 season, Gerbner devotes only six lines of text to any discussion of data for the components of the Violence Index and then only for the aggregate of all programs and all networks. All the detailed commentary on individual networks and day parts are based only on the total Violence Index itself. While the 43 appendix tables in Violence Profile No. 8 do give all the components of the Violence Index, who is going to probe those more abstruse measures if Gerbner himself normally does not? The answer is essentially no one. Indeed, in all the public and professional discussion of the Violence Profile, we can think of only one or two occasions other than our comments in which *anyone* has had recourse to the components of the Index.

A current example of the confusion created by use of the Violence Index is Gerbner's assertion, in Violence Profile No. 8, that "CBS, leader in the 'family viewing' concept, lifted its two-season lid on family viewing time violence. . ." We had earlier pointed out that Gerbner's own figures, using his definition of violence, showed a *decline* in the *number* of incidents of violence from 20 per week to 11 per week between 1975 and 1976. That scarcely appears to be lifting the lid on violence.

But Gerbner now defends his statement primarily by arguing that the proportion of programs containing violence increased, consequently raising the level of the Violence Index. This makes sense, according to Gerbner, because "violence was more broadly distributed in 1976 CBS family hour programming, making it more difficult for viewers to avoid (or have their children avoid) violence during family viewing time." But what are the family viewing-time programs that suddenly became so violent? Aside from "Sixty Minutes" and variety programs (both of which Gerbner excludes from his count), the following eight programs constituted the family viewing programs during the fall of 1976: "Rhoda", "Phyllis", "Good Times", "Ball Four", "The Waltons", "The Jeffersons", "Doc", and "Spencer's Pilots". Which of these programs did parents need to have their children avoid because of violence? The unreality of the definition of Gerbner's definition of violence and of the peculiar and arbitrary form of the Violence Index should be apparent.

More fundamentally, the question remains as to what basis in research or logic Gerbner has for the particular set of numbers and weights he uses for the development of his Violence Index. Whence does he derive support for his view that the proportion of leading characters involved in violence has any meaning in terms of the effect of television violence on viewers? Why not minor characters as well? And why is that proportion precisely equal, in terms of importance to the Index, and presumably in effect on the audience, to the proportion of programs containing violence, and only one-half as important as the rate of violent incidents per hour? Is Gerbner sure this ratio should not be one-third? Or one-fifth?

The truth is that the components of the Violence Index have been chosen by Gerbner without convincing scientific proof of their relevance, and the weights used in their combination have been arbitrarily chosen by Gerbner without any scientific support for their relative importance. So the weighted combination of these components—the Index itself— can vary over time with no one being able to identify a valid meaning for such movements.

It was precisely the arbitrariness of the entire construct that was challenged by Bruce Owen of the Office of Telecommunications Policy and it is the same arbitrariness which leads us to reject the Index as a measure of anything.[1] It is true that "one *must* add apples and oranges if one wants to know about *fruit*," just as one must add rabbits and elephants if one wants to know about animals. But does one rabbit equal one elephant? Whether one rabbit equals one elephant is of fundamental importance in determining whether the summing of rabbits and elephants in a certain fashion to measure some characteristic of animals is valid or not.

When the Consumer Price Index, which does combine apples and oranges, is reported to have risen, some components have gone up in price and some have gone down. But the Bureau of Labor Statistics can validly report that the aggregate of the various components went up because it has used a weighting process in which the weights have been derived from experience in the real world, i.e., the distribution of the actual market basket of goods and services purchased by the families covered by the survey.

Where does Gerbner get his weights from? What evidence does he have that his weights are superior to some other set of weights? For example, assume that the rate of violence per hour and rate of violence per program, two of Gerbner's Index components, were given a weight of 90 percent, rather than the modest weight they are actually given. Under these circumstances, Gerbner on the basis of his own data would have had to say that CBS reduced the amount of violence in the family hour between 1975 and 1976, instead of saying that "CBS lifted the lid on violence." And nowhere in the many pages written by the Gerbner group on their monitoring results is there any discussion of why one system of weighting is better than another.

Units of Analysis

Gerbner discusses our criticism that his definition of a violent incident requires the participation of "the same agents." Our definition is less restrictive and focuses in practice on the unity of a dramatic incident, rather than the identification of the agents involved.

Gerbner severely criticizes our definition as "ambiguous" and as one that permits arbitrary and subjective manipulation of the unit of violence. He goes on to state that, "such ambiguity not only tends to reduce the reliability of the measure but also gives the coder employed by CBS the opportunity to stretch the rule on which all other measures depend."

However, as Gerbner is well aware, "reliability" in content analysis is a measurable dimension, rather than an offhand assessment based upon one's view of whether a definition reads well. Neither Gerbner's monitors nor ours can be handed a definition and set to work without further explanation through training and example. That is true of our definition, and it is equally true of the Gerbner definition. . . .

We have applied measures of reliability to the CBS monitoring and very high levels of agreement among coders have, in fact, been established. The basic measure—intraclass correlations—has consistently exceeded 0.90. Since reliability is very high, the operating definitions used by CBS are clearly effective, efficient, and unambiguous. This information has been published.

We continue to believe that the unit of count should be defined by the dramatic incident, not by the participation of particular characters. The emphasis on changing participants in Gerbner's procedures is a result of abstract considerations, related to his interest in power relationships (about which we have more to say below) and not intrinsic to any evaluation of the extent of violence. One could more validly propose that each blow or shot fired is a single act of violence than that a change in participants denotes a new act of violence.

Finally, Gerbner asserts that under the CBS definition it is conceivable that a whole program might be coded as a single violent incident. This, of course, could occur just as well under his definition, as for example, if there were a prolonged kidnapping sequence covering essentially an entire program without any change in participants. But, more to the point, we have tallied and published data showing the average duration of violent episodes as calculated by our monitoring system. During the current season, length of incidents of violence was only 1.4 minutes.

Sampling

Finally, we turn to questions of sampling error and of statistical significance. We had earlier pointed out the increasing statistical dangers of choosing a single sample week a year, as the television network schedules became more complex and as programming became more irregular. We indicated that the substantial variation in the amount of violence from week to week makes year-to-year comparisons drawn from single-week samples highly suspect. We showed this large variation in our monitoring data.

Gerbner says he has now tested his procedures over an additional five weeks. And he concludes that he has found more stability than we did and that "the one-week samples yields remarkably stable results with high cost efficiency." Indeed, he charges that our evidence of instability stems from the "limitation, instabilities and ambiguities" of our definition.

Several comments are in order on this view. First, we have already indicated that our results are highly reliable, measured in terms of intercoder agreement, and, therefore, there simply is no problem with our definition—it is not ambiguous or unstable.

Second, Gerbner may be satisfied with the statistical results of his extended sampling but we are not. Thus, for the CBS Television Network, the variance shown by the Gerbner extended sample is so large[3] that, by standard statistical measure, *no* year-to-year change in the number of acts of prime-time violence so fulsomely reported by Gerbner in the years since 1967 has been statistically significant! To put it another way, for CBS the year-to-year change in the number of incidents of violence, as defined and measured by Gerbner, between years that Gerbner has reported has been far smaller than the inherent variability in the underlying Gerbner data. It has been so much smaller that, by generally accepted scientific standards, Gerbner should have said throughout this entire period that he couldn't identify any significant change in the number of acts of prime-time violence on CBS. This, of course, is vastly different from what he has actually said.

But in addition, in reviewing the Gerbner statistical data we were reminded of an aspect of the Gerbner technique which raises serious questions about the entire relationship between the Gerbner sample and the universe of network programming from which the sample is drawn. Gerbner indicates that, in his one-week sample, "when and if an episode of a regularly scheduled program is preempted by some special offering during the selected week, the next available episode of that series is video-taped." It is perhaps understandable why Gerbner chose this approach when he began his monitoring a decade ago. During a period when most programs broadcast were episodes of regularly-scheduled series, preempted only occasionally by clearly-defined specials, it might have been reasonable for Gerbner, desiring to choose a "representative" week, to replace "specials" by the regular programs they preempted. But television network programming has changed enormously in the last decade. Variation in scheduling has become the standard, rather than the unusual. During this last season, and even more during the upcoming season, it is almost impossible to define what is a "regularly-scheduled" program and what is a "special." Is a series of specials such as NBC's "Big Event" a regularly-scheduled program? What about a program such as "Roots," which appeared with varying episode lengths on eight consecutive nights? How do we deal with hour programs which occasionally appear in two-hour form? Or with mini-series in episodes which vary in length? We don't know where we would draw the line, and Gerbner never discusses the criteria by which he makes these decisions.

The arbitrariness of this technique is surely apparent. Further, the elimination, in whatever degree Gerbner happens to decide, of nonregular programming from the Gerbner Index leaves out of network programming a large and increasing fraction of actual programs broadcast. The only procedure that appropriately reflects television entertainment programming as it in fact appears on one's television set is the procedure CBS follows, namely, the inclusion of all prime-time entertainment programs actually broadcast during a sample week and the inclusion of enough sample weeks to achieve statistical reliability. Whatever Gerbner is measuring these days, it is *not* the total array of current entertainment offerings by the television networks.

Risk Ratios

For some years Gerbner has defined the purpose for which he measures his Risk Ratios. He has traditionally argued that television has become the tool by which society "demonstrates an invidious (but socially functional) sense of risk and power. . . ."

Television is considered by Gerbner to be a primary method by which society conveys to its underclasses that their role in life is subservient to that of the rest of society. Among those groups defined as "underclasses" by the Gerbner Risk Ratios are women and nonwhites. Accordingly, if one believed in this view of society and of television, one would expect women and nonwhites to have been taught their proper roles in society and to behave appropriately.

However, about a decade after this hypothesis was first propounded, Gerbner himself states (in Violence Profile No. 7), that "we do not yet know whether it [the pattern of relative victimization] . . . cultivates a corresponding hierarchy of fear and aggression"!

Indeed, one can make a more positive statement. No one in his right mind would seriously suggest that, after 30 years of television, women and nonwhites are meeker and less aggressive in defending their rights than they used to be. But for Gerbner's view of society and television to have any meaning, this is exactly what should have happened.

The truth is that this hypothesis about the effects of dramatic portrayals on television has no support in fact. The Risk Ratio measure itself probably does not measure significant characteristics of television drama in the minds of viewers. Neither society nor television has the kind of monolithic value system that Gerbner presupposes. And there simply is no evidence that the artificial view of society and television that Gerbner has constructed has its counterpart in the real world. . . .

Summary

In this document, and in our preceding comments, we have examined the Gerbner Violence Profile and its components. We have concluded that the Violence Index does not measure the amount of violence on prime-time television nor is there objective support for the particular elements combined in that Index or the weights which are used to combine them. Even the violence counts themselves are based on overly-broad definitions of violence and on overly-narrow samples. . . .

These days many studies are being undertaken of one aspect or another of television program content and its effect on viewers; numerous hypotheses are being put forward about the effect of television on society. We do not feel it incumbent on us to comment on or respond to every such study or hypothesis. If the Violence Profile had been simply one among the many studies, we would not have expended as much effort in reviewing its validity as we have. But, in fact, the Violence Profile has been in a unique position and played a unique role. Dr. Gerbner and his group have been supported in their work in this area by federal government funds for the last decade. The Profile itself has been put forward as an all-encompassing model of the way in which depictions of violence on television affect our society. And many people concerned with this issue have treated the Profile and its conclusions as if they were of demonstrated scientific validity and, therefore, had major social implications. . . .

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[1] The Social Science Research Council Committee on Television and Social Behavior, in their report on "A Profile of Televised Violence" (July 1975), said that: "Initially, the aggregation of the components should be avoided and should not be undertaken without prior research into the technical problems involved, the understanding of the profile by its users, the consequences for the intended functions of the violence profile, etc." More generally, we do not consider this report either the rigorous review of the Violence Profile or the endorsement of the Profile that Gerbner does.

[2] During the six Gerbner sample weeks, the acts of violence on CBS prime-time programming, as reported by Gerbner, numbered: 90, 91, 130, 97, 66, and 84.

One More Time: An Analysis of the CBS "Final Comments on the Violence Profile"

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Symmetry more than substance compels us to pursue a dialogue that threatens to make the lively subject of television violence bog down in tedium. But behind the contentions and technicalities over a mixed bag of issues, we perceive a deeper structure shaping and straining this colloquy. As our (we hope) final contribution in this context, we shall try to elaborate what that constraint might be, and what it suggests for the future of research relevant to televison program policy.

CBS persists in claiming that "comic and accidental violence, and violence resulting from acts of nature, ought not be included in any measure of the amount of violence." Our previous analysis clearly indicates that there are no real "accidents" or "acts of nature" in fiction. They are simply ways of presenting violence and victimization. We have also noted that comic content is a highly effective form of conveying serious lessons. Finally, we have indicated that idle threats, comic gestures, verbal abuse, or any non-credible suggestions of violence are *not* included in our definition. Also, our findings are reported separately for comic programs so that any careful reader can assess their independent contributions to the total pattern. So why this insistence on excluding comic and "accidental" violence?

Of course, the more inclusive the count the higher the number CBS considers damaging. But there is also another clue in the CBS attempt to determine what violence is "meaningful." Previously, that attempt led CBS to suggest that the criterion of "meaningfulness" is "that violence which reasonable citizens consider harmful." But why? Why not that which reasonable citizens consider *helpful?* Is that less meaningful? Our research does not find it so. But it may be less troublesome from the point of view of corporate policy, and, therefore, less "meaningful" from a strictly policy-oriented point of view.

That point of view becomes even more sharply defined in the new CBS criterion of meaningfulness, now offered as an argument for exclusion: "In our view, comic and accidental violence is simply not meaningful in the context in which the debate over television violence is conducted." Our research has shown that context to be relatively uninformed of a variety of significant lessons to be derived from exposure to television violence. We believe that a scientific effort to discover all socially important effects of television violence, rather than to take the terms of the popular debate at face value, would serve both the public and CBS better than its rigid defense of corporate policy in the face of often unwarranted criticism.

Apparently, CBS researchers also believe that comic and accidental violence may be significant, even if they continue to exclude it from the "overall count." There is a discrepancy between what Vice President Blank writes and what the CBS Office of Social Research reports.

The May 1977 CBS Monitoring Report states (on pages 15-16) that the CBS definition (modeled on and very similar to ours) "included accidents or acts of nature which occurred in a violent context as, for example, a person being killed in an automobile accident while escaping from a crime." In another passage, the CBS report notes (page 6, footnote) that "In this season's tabulations, episodes of dramatic violence that occur in situation comedies were included in the totals for the 'other programs' category . . . . We continue to exclude comic violence from our overall count."

It seems, therefore, that the need for the exclusion does not come from research considerations but from pressures for a "better bottom line." What is most at stake here is the area of children's programming, particularly cartoons, which contain the most frequent (and stereotyped) violence. We cannot agree that such a critical area should be exempt from accounting and scrutiny.

The CBS discussion of the "neutrality" of our content measures is puzzling. We said that measures of content should not *presume* effects. Rather, content measures facilitate the effective investigation of effects. Ecologists measure the amount of certain chemicals in the air or water (as we do in the symbolic environment) in order to ascertain their presence and then to test—rather than to presume—their effects on people. So the "boundary line" should be drawn not in accepting the popular presumption of ill-defined effects but in the clear and unambiguous observation of the element (in this case of violence) in *any context*. Only such observation can lead to the investigation of the behavioral and conceptual correlates of exposure to strictly defined violence. Proceeding in that way, our research indeed found several very meaningful correlates of exposure, some of which may be quite helpful to some groups.

The underlying problem again may be that CBS is constrained by the nature of critical public discussion which often jumps to unwarranted conclusions. One such conclusion is that the major or only "meaningful" effect of exposure to television violence is the instigation of aggression. That presumption forces on CBS the task of corporate defense, even at the risk of distorting the research issue.

In the course of accepting rather than attempting to transform the terms of the popular debate about TV violence, CBS gets into even more hot water. CBS prides itself on its own research on a few children's programs demonstrating "that children can receive prosocial messages in a comic context." CBS claims that we "ignore the fact that these programs were designed to convey and reinforce messages of a socially acceptable, socially reinforced nature." Well, last fall's overall CBS weekend daytime fare hit a five-year record of 19.2 violent episodes per hour (up from 14.2 the year before). Does CBS mean to suggest that all these other programs were *designed* to be socially unacceptable and destructive? Its defense against simplistic criticism puts CBS in that box. CBS sinks even deeper when it contends that our measures of the abundance of gross and explicit violence in children's programs constitutes "a long and unsupported jump to the assumption that children are picking up hidden messages of violence from comic routines!"

Similar problems plague the CBS discussion of the Violence Index itself. Vice President Blank as an economist can see the validity of multidimensional measures of GNP or unemployment. These and other measures he approves "result from closely-reasoned efforts to measure phenomena which are of social or physical consequences." But similar efforts to establish Cultural Indicators (of which the Violence Index is a current example) are dismissed as "nonsense." Why?

The closest we can get to a cogent reason is that the weighting of the components going into the Index is "arbitrary" and that we have not given sufficient attention to the individual components, even though we have included them in our reports.

What are these weightings and components? The Violence Index is composed of (1) the percent of programs containing any violence, plus (2) the rate of violent episodes per program, plus (3) the rate of violent episodes per hour, plus (4) the percent of major characters involved in any violence, plus (5) the percent of major characters involved in any killing. Each of these measures has a specifically defined meaning and function in our analysis. The *only* "weighting" is that we double two rates (2 and 3) in order to raise the low numerical values of these ratios to the level of importance that we believe the concepts of the frequency and program saturation of violent incidents deserve when combined with the other numbers which, being percentages, typically have much higher numerical value. No one is forced to agree with or follow that simple assumption. The individual components for all years are included in our reports and are available for any combination.

The bulk of the Violence Index and Profile is a set of 71 Tables. Thousands of Profiles have been distributed. The composite Violence Index combines the components by means of the formula explained above. Violence Profile No. 8 specifically states (on page 21) that the individual "measures of violence are based on analysts' observations. They are provided in all tabulations and should be used as basic indicators of trends. However, for ease of illustration and comparison, they are combined to form summary scores and an index. These are not statistical findings in themselves, and should not be treated as such. Rather they serve as convenient illustrators of the basic findings and to facilitate gross comparisons."

It is true that most public discussion revolves around the composite Index. Similarly, the broadcast industry refers to overall Neilsen or Arbitron ratings, although these are composed of demographic and other separate—and sometimes conflicting—components. We believe that there is a general validity to the overall Index, and that consistently applied, it does show meaningful trends in performance. As CBS knows best, the detailed tabulations do not get on network news or into newspaper headlines. We disseminate complete information; it is up to the media to do their homework and use such Violence Index components or combinations of components as they see fit.

CBS reflects some irritation with the perhaps less than felicitous phrasing in our 1977 Report that "CBS, leader in the 'family viewing' concept, lifted its two-season lid on family viewing time violence . . ." Let us look at the individual components of the "family hour" Index for 1973, 74, 75, and 76.

Percent of fall season CBS family hour programs containing any violence: 50, 50, 27, 63. Percent of hours containing violence: 60, 56, 31, 60. Rate of violent episodes per program: 4.4, 3.1, 1.8, 1.4. Rate of violent episodes per hour: 5.9, 3.9, 3.1, 2.2. Percent of leading characters involved in any violence: 43, 29, 23, 32. Percent of leading characters involved in killing: 13, 7, 0, 0. It is clear as we report, that while the number and rate of "family hour" violent incidents declined, and killing by or of leading characters was eliminated, the percent of programs with violence and characters involved in some violence has increased, making the overall "family hour" Index 127 in 1973, 100 in 1974, 60 in 1975, and 101 in 1976. (The corresponding Index numbers for *all* CBS drama were 174, 174, 154 and 181.) The factors that determine these movements are clearly not our measures but network policy and its application by the network's department of Standards and Practices. If next season's program mix shows a policy of replacing the "lid" on more or all aspects of violence, we shall be pleased to report it.

The CBS list of family hour programs and the rhetorical question "Which of these programs did parents need to have their children avoid because of violence?" continues the persistent misreading of the issue and of our reports. Nothing we report suggests that parents have children avoid specific programs. The Violence Index and Profile measure aggregate programming policy and its consequences. These are cumulative over the years, do not stem from single programs, and involve a variety of lessons of different potential value for different groups. Reducing violence to a mechanical and one-dimensional issue only reinforces the superficiality of the popular debate.

The CBS discussion of units of analysis and sampling adds little of substance to what we have discussed before. Our units, defined according to participation of the same characters, are easier to code, yield more information—and more but briefer incidents—than those of CBS. They further help to place the violence in a social context. That is something CBS and other networks have long demanded, but refuse to do themselves. The investigation of such context is highly indicative of a variety of potential lessons to be derived from TV violence. But it is not a prime subject of popular criticism and is therefore of little corporate interest.

The variability of year-to-year incidents of violence has been equally large in both our and the CBS samples (cf. the 1977 CBS report, page 4). That is why we (unlike CBS) use the much more broadly-based Index which combines several measures, and discuss upward or downward trends over the years, rather than statistical differences from one year to another. In fact, until the sharp and surprising rise in violence last year, our reports tended to emphasize the *lack* of significant change, despite repeated network promises and protestations.

The rationale for focusing on regularly scheduled dramatic programs should be obvious. Our study is designed to investigate the representative and repetitive patterns of programming, and not the occasional or exceptional "specials." It is not at all difficult to define what is a "special;" the networks promote them heavily and usually announce that "the regularly scheduled program will return next week." However, *any dramatic production* such as "Roots" or a mini-series would be included in our analysis if it fell within our sample week. If and when the actual variability of the week-to-week programming pattern justifies enlarging the sample to obtain representative results, we shall do so. At the present time that is far from the case. Behind the revolving door of formats and titles, there is a persistent stability of basic content elements and social patterns portrayed in the programs.

This brings us to the last point of some substance. CBS claims that our findings would suggest that "women and nonwhites are meeker and less aggressive in defending their rights than they used to be." That is careless reading and tendentious reporting of what we actually found. We say nothing about what women and minorities do because that is not what we study. We study the pattern of television violence and find that it places a higher burden of relative victimization upon women, nonwhites, and other minority groups such as children and the elderly than upon the white male majority. We also find that heavy viewing of television, with other factors kept constant, is related to a sense of exaggerated danger and mistrust. An independent study by Dr. Nicholas Zill of the Foundation for Child Development has since come to the same conclusion for children. Of course this does not mean that television alone determines human behavior. What it indicates is that violence-laden television drama cultivates an unequal sense of vulnerability within a conventionally stereotyped power and value structure. Both the growing militancy of some groups and the growing resistance to change of others, as well as the increasing fear of most, takes place in that cultural environment. Television is an important contributor to these trends.

We are in the process of expanding and diversifying our monitoring and cultivation studies. We are developing additional indicators of family life, aging, health and medicine, and other key issues regularly presented in television programming. What we have profited from this and other exchanges will thus be put to use in our continuing studies.

Only an independent effort can afford to let the chips fall where they may. In the long run, that is the best protection for the public and also for the TV industry. As broadcasting policy develops in new directions, we will report the facts, as we have in the past. Independent scientific research is the best defense against uninformed or unwarranted public criticism and the best guide to policies that reflect careful consideration of all important social consequences.

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NETWORK PRIME-TIME VIOLENCE TABULATIONS FOR 1980-81 SEASON

Highlights of the Report

1. Overall, there has been very little change from last season in violence. The number of violent incidents in prime time television on all three networks combined varied little from the 1979-80 season. Though the number of violent incidents is slightly less than last season, this minor difference is not large enough to be considered statistically significant.

2. All three networks are about equal in violence level in the 1980-81 season. The small differences between one network and another in number of violent incidents are not statistically significant. However, NBC does rank above CBS in rate of violent incidents (number of incidents per hour), with ABC falling between the other two networks on this measure. None of the networks are significantly higher or lower in violence level than in the 1979-80 season.

3. On a long-term basis, the level of violence in the current season is considerably lower than in previous years and is, in fact, one third less than the high point of violence in 1974-75. Since that peak year, there has been a long-term downward trend in violence, with occasional fluctuations. (See chart A) This long-term decrease is primarily a result of a reduction in the number of hours devoted to regularly-scheduled "action" programs (crime, mystery, western and adventure.)

4. Over the long-run, the networks have shown different patterns in violence level. CBS declined sharply in violence in the 1975-76 season and, despite some fluctuations, has remained considerably below its earlier level since that time. ABC has generally followed a downward trend in violence since 1974-75. NBC has shown a more variable pattern than the other two networks over the same time period. (See chart B)

5. A parallel decline has taken place in the amount of time devoted to violent action on prime-time. Duration of violent episodes has been measured since 1976-77, at which time an average of about three prime-time hours a week (184 minutes) involved scenes of violence. In the current season, the average amount of time per week devoted to violence on all three networks combined is about half that amount. (100 minutes)

Violence was defined as follows: "the use of physical force against persons or animals, or the articulated, explicit threat of physical force to compel particular behavior on the part of a person." Accidents and incidents of comic violence were excluded from this count. As in the past three years, thirteen weeks of prime-time television were monitored in order to obtain a reliable measure that made allowance for week-to-week variation in incidents of dramatic violence.

Detailed Findings

Number and Frequency of Violent Incidents

The violence level in the 1980-81 season has changed little from last year. In the average week, there were 105 incidents of violence during prime-time on the three networks combined, about the same level as in the 1979-80 season. There were fewer than two incidents of violence per hour of prime time in both this and last year's season. (Table 1)

All three networks are very close in average number of violent incidents per week, ranging between 32 and 38 incidents. For each of the networks, the current violence level shows only insignificant differences from last season.

However, the rate of violence is higher on NBC than it is on CBS, with ABC falling in-between. CBS averages about 1½ incidents of violence per hour, compared to about two incidents per hour on NBC. None of the networks have shown any marked change in rate of violence from last season. (Table 2)

Frequency of Violence in Different Types of Programming

As has been generally true, violence is most likely to occur in regularly scheduled "action" programming, which averages around 3 or 4 incidents of violence per hour. However, on each of the networks, this type of programming makes up only a small portion of programming time. The bulk of prime time consists of comedy, drama, variety and "special" programs which have relatively little violence (averaging less than one incident per hour for the three networks.) (Table 3)

Made-for TV and feature films frequently include violence. In 1980-81, each of the networks devoted 20-30% of programming time to movies, which averaged between 2 to 3 incidents per hour. Movies on television accounted for about one-third of the violence on CBS and ABC, and one-half of all violent incidents on NBC.

Week to Week Variations

This year, and in the previous five seasons, 13 weeks of programming were monitored for each network, providing considerable information on the extent of week-to-week variation. The range of variation from week-to-week is extensive. In this season, there was at least one week on each network that had two to three times the violence of the lowest week.

When these tabulations were begun in 1972-73, they involved only two weeks of programming. An effort was made to select weeks that represented as little variation from regularly scheduled programming as possible. The decision was made in 1975 to expand the sample to a longer time interval that would more closely approximate the true average incidence of dramatic violence in prime-time programming. This was done because in recent years television prime-time programming has become less constant, as "specials" and mini-series have become more frequent and program changes more rapid.

The past five seasons have been characterized by frequent changes in scheduled program series and numerous "specials." In the current season, many series did not last out the year and some series were deliberately scheduled for only a brief "try-out" run. The numerous "specials" and pre-emptions varied considerably in the extent to which violence was involved, ranging in type from variety shows to westerns. Thus, in this year's season, as in previous years, no "single" week can be called "typical".

Another source of week-to-week variation derived from differences in the nature of the made-for-television and feature films shown. Each of the networks had some weeks in which film material was generally non-violent; conversely, each of the networks had at least one week characterized by violent film content.

Because of all these factors, the week-to-week variation in the extent of dramatic violence becomes quite large, as shown in Table 4. On each of the networks, one or more individual weeks varied considerably from the overall 13-week average.* If only one or two weeks had been selected to represent this season, the outcomes might have been considerably higher or lower than those obtained. The expansion of the number of weeks monitored results in a much more realistic appraisal of the amount of violence on prime-time network programs.

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*Standard deviations of the mean number of incidents (a statistical measure of dispersion or variation from the average) were 7.77, 11.72 and 10.49 for CBS, NBC, and ABC, respectively. Means are shown in Table 2.

Duration of Violent Incidents

As in previous seasons, the average scene of violent action lasts for about a minute. Scenes of violence in film material tend to be slightly longer than those in other program material, but these differences are small. (Table 5)

Since the 1976-77 season, when the duration of violence was first measured, the total time devoted to violent scenes in the average week of prime-time has declined from about three hours (184 minutes) to about an hour and a half (100 minutes) in the current season. The total time devoted to violence declined sharply in the 1977-78 season, further declined in the following year, and has remained at about the same level since then.

CHART A
AVERAGE NUMBER OF INCIDENTS
OF DRAMATIC VIOLENCE PER WEEK

Three Networks Combined • Prime Time

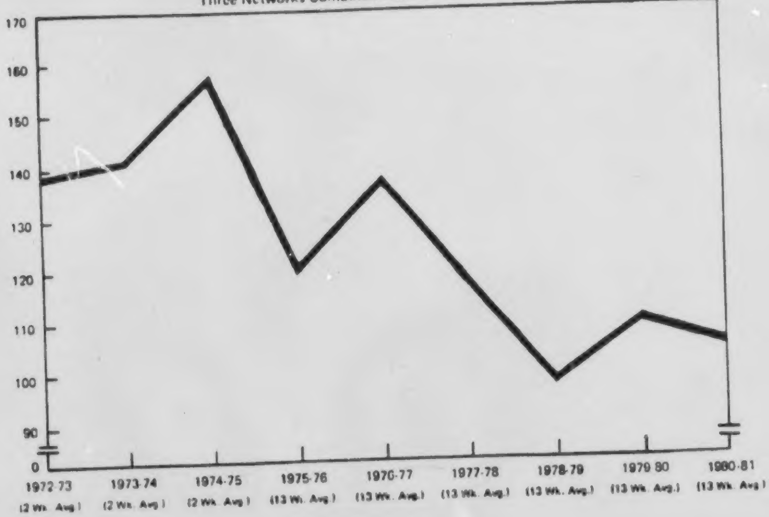

CHART B
AVERAGE NUMBER OF INCIDENTS
OF DRAMATIC VIOLENCE PER WEEK

Three Networks • Prime Time

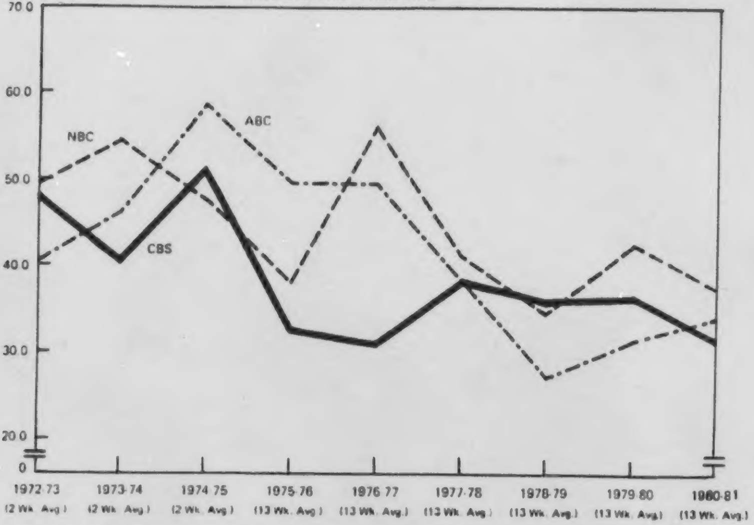

Table 1

Changes in Prime-Time Dramatic Violence

All Three Networks Combined

	Average number of incidents of dramatic violence per week	Average number of hours per week*	Average rate of violent incidents per hour	% Change from prior years in number of incidents	% Change from prior year in rate per hour
1972-73 (2-week average)	138.0	60.0	2.30		
1973-74 (")	141.0	61.9	2.28	+2%	-1%
1974-75 (")	157.0	62.3	2.52	+11%	+10%
1975-76 (13-week average)	119.9	62.0	1.93	-24%	-23%
1976-77 (")	136.2	59.3	2.30	+14%	+19%
1977-78 (")	117.5	60.8	1.93	-14%	-16%
1978-79 (")	97.4	59.7	1.63	-17%	-16%
1979-80 (")	109.6	57.5	1.90	+12%	+16%
1980-81 (")	105.2	60.1	1.75	- 4%	- 8%

*Documentaries, news and sports programs are excluded from this count, reducing the total number of prime-time hours monitored.

Note: Minor variations [of .1 or .2] in the tables may occasionally occur due to rounding of figures.

Table 2

Changes in Prime-Time Dramatic Violence

By Network

	Average number of incidents of dramatic violence per week	Average number of hours per week	Average rate of violent incidents per hour	%Change from prior year in number of incidents	% Change from prior year in rate per hour
CBS					
1972-73 (2-week average)	48.0	20.5	2.3		
1973-74 (")	40.5	21.0	1.9	-16%	-17%
1974-75 (")	51.0	21.0	2.4	+26	+26
1975-76 (13-week average)	32.5	21.3	1.53	-36	-38
1976-77 (")	31.0	19.7	1.57	- 5	+ 3
1977-78 (")	38.2	20.3	1.88	+23	+20
1978-79 (")	36.1	20.4	1.77	- 5	- 6
1979-80 (")	36.2	20.3	1.79	0	+ 1
1980-81 (")	32.2	20.5	1.57	-11	-12

(continued)

Table 2 cont.

Changes in Prime-Time Dramatic Violence

By Network

	Average number of incidents of dramatic violence per week	Average number of hours per week	Average rate of violent incidents per hour	%Change from prior year in number of incidents	% Change from prior year in rate per hour
NBC					
1972-73 (2-week average)	49.5	20.0	2.5		
1973-74 (")	54.5	20.9	2.6	+10%	+ 4%
1974-75 (")	47.5	21.2	2.2	-13	-15
1975-76 (13-week average)	37.9	20.5	1.85	-20	-18
1976-77 (")	55.9	20.2	2.77	+47	+50
1977-78 (")	41.0	20.5	2.00	-27	-28
1978-79 (")	34.3	20.8	1.64	-16	-18
1979-80 (")	42.3	20.4	2.08	+23	+27
1980-81 (")	38.0	19.9	1.91	-10	- 8
ABC					
1972-73 (2-week average)	40.5	19.5	2.1		
1973-74 (")	46.0	20.0	2.3	+14	+10
1974-75 (")	58.5	20.1	2.9	+27	+26
1975-76 (13-week average)	49.5	20.2	2.45	-15	-17
1976-77 (")	49.3	19.4	2.54	0	+ 4
1977-78 (")	38.3	20.0	1.92	-22	-24
1978-79 (")	27.0	18.4	1.46	-30	-24
1979-80 (")	31.1	16.9	1.84	+15	+26
1980-81 (")	34.9	19.7	1.77	+12	- 4

* Documentaries, news and sports programs are excluded from this count, reducing the total number of prime-time hours monitored.

Table 3

Extent of Dramatic Violence on Prime-time Entertainment Television

13-Week Sample - 1980-81

	Average number of incidents of dramatic violence per week	Average number of hours per week*	Average rate per hour
CBS			
"Action" programs**	8.1	2.2	3.7
Other programs***	13.5	13.2	1.0
Made-for-TV and feature films	10.6	5.1	2.1
Total	32.2	20.5	1.6
NBC			
"Action" programs**	14.8	4.5	3.2
Other programs***	6.1	9.0	.7
Made-for-TV and feature films	19.1	6.4	2.7
Total	38.0	19.9	1.9
ABC			
"Action" programs**	12.6	2.9	4.3
Other programs***	11.6	12.3	.9
Made-for-TV and feature films	10.7	4.4	2.4
Total	34.9	19.7	1.8

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*Documentaries, news and sports programs are excluded from this count, reducing the total number of prime-time hours monitored.

**Regularly scheduled crime, mystery, western and adventure programs.

***General drama, comedy, variety — both regularly scheduled and special.

Table 4

Range of Week-to-Week Variation in Dramatic Violence

13-Week Sample — 1980-81

	Range in number of incidents of dramatic violence	Range in number of hours
CBS		
"Action" programs*	0-15	0-4
Other programs**	4-26	9-17
Made-for-TV and feature films	1-24	2-11
Weekly Totals***	22-46	18.5-21
NBC		
"Action" programs*	0-39	0-9
Other programs**	1-14	6-15
Made-for-TV and feature films	1-46	1.5-14
Weekly Totals***	15-55	17-22
ABC		
"Action" programs*	0-19	0-5
Other programs**	4-24	11-14
Made-for-TV and feature films	3-21	2-6
Weekly Totals***	20-55	15.5-21

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* Regularly scheduled crime, mystery, western and adventure programs.
** General drama, comedy, variety - both regularly scheduled and special.
*** Minimum and maximum range for weekly totals, including all three program categories.

Table 5

Duration of Violent Incidents

13 Week Sample - 1976-81

(All Three Networks Combined)

	Average total duration of incidents in minutes per week					Average duration of incidents in minutes				
	1976-77	'77-78	'78-79	'79-80	'80-81	1976-77	'77-78	'78-79	'79-80	'80-81
"Action" programs	97.5	55.9	37.9	45.5	34.1	1.3	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.0
Other programs	19.4	17.1	24.2	18.6	23.7	.9	.9	.9	.7	.8
Made-for-TV and Feature Films	67.3	50.1	47.6	43.8	42.4	1.8	1.2	1.3	1.1	1.1
Total	184.2	123.1	109.7	107.9	100.2	1.4	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.0

TECHNICAL APPENDICES

I. Analysis of Violence in Prime-Time Programming

Prior to 1975-76, the Office of Social Research monitored two sample weeks of prime-time television a year. One of the two sample weeks was monitored in the fall and the other after February 1, in order to take account of any midseason program changes. The sample weeks were chosen to reflect, as closely as possible, the normal prime-time schedule. Weeks containing no or few "specials" were favored over weeks containing several specials.

For the 1975-76, 1976-77 and 1977-78 seasons, thirteen weeks, or half of each season, were included in the sample to reflect more adequately the total range of programming.

Monitoring during the sample weeks covered all regular-series programming and such entertainment specials as were scheduled, as well as theatrical features and made-for-television films. News, documentaries and sports were excluded.

Definition of Violence

Violence was defined for the monitoring as follows:

> "the use of physical force against persons or animals or the articulated, explicit threat of physical force to compel particular behavior on the part of a person."

In the implementation of the definition , all acts intended to cause physical harm (for example, attempted murder) were included, whether they were successful or not.

Violence was counted in terms of incidents. An incident is not absolutely synonymous with an "act". One "incident" might include brief breaks in the action, as in a protracted chase scene, interrupted by pauses for regrouping and reloading or acts of violence by more than one person, as, for example, would occur in a fight scene involving several people.

Unintentional injuries (such as might result from a shove merely intended to get someone out of one's way) were not considered violent, nor were threats that were not backed up be a show of force (along the lines of "I'll get you some day").

A separate count was made of comic violence (e.g., the proverbial slapstick scene of hitting someone with a custard pie). Incidents of comic violence were few and are not included in the total counts of dramatic violence shown here.

Further details regarding the counting procedure will be found in the following "Definitions and Guidelines as Furnished to Coders."

II. Definitions and Guidelines, as Furnished to Coders

Definition of Violent Incident

One sustained, dramatically continuous event involving violence, with essentially the same group of participants and with no major interruptions in continuity.

Duration of a Violent Incident

A violent incident begins with either the violent act itself or with a threat of violence (as defined below). For example, if a policeman shouts "Stop, or I'll shoot," and then shoots at the person fleeing, the incident would be counted as beginning with the initial shout.

Categories of Violence

Physical. The use of physical force against persons or animals, whether or not it is successful. For example, if a person shoots at another person and missed, this is still an act of violence Accidents or acts of nature are not included in this count, except for the rare cases in which accidents are directly related to violent action, e.g. an automobile accident during a police chase.

Threats of physical force. The articulated, explicit threat of physical force used as compulsion so as to create in the person threatened the fear of bodily harm if he did not comply. However, if threat is accompanied by or immediately followed by physical injury, it will not be counted separately. Do not include those physical actions which are not intended to and apparently do not produce bodily harm (e.g., a shove intended only to get someone out of one's way).

Results of Violence*

There are two categories of results:

(1) Lethal injury (death). Note that if a person is shot and falls down, he cannot be assumed to be dead unless it is clearly indicated. Often it is only later in the program that someone says that the person involved is dead, in the hospital, etc.

(2) Injury. This includes every infliction of pain from a single blow to a gunshot wound.

Comic Violence

An incident of "comic" violence is one in which the violence is in a context which would ordinarily produce laughter and the violence is not of a serious character.

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*These "results of violence" data are not included in this report.

III. Dates of Monitoring

The following are the thirteen weeks in which prime-time television programs on all three networks were monitored:

October 27 - November 2, 1980
November 10 - November 16, 1980
November 24 - November 30, 1980
December 8 - December 14, 1980
December 22 - December 28, 1980
January 5 - January 11, 1981
January 19 - January 25, 1981
February 2 - February 8, 1981
February 16 - February 22, 1981
March 2 - March 8, 1981
March 16 - March 22, 1981
March 30 - April 5, 1981
April 13 - April 19, 1981

IV. Statistical Notes

The unit of sampling for this study was a week of television programming. From the 26 weeks available for study, a systematic sample of 13 weeks was selected. In each of the selected weeks, all network television programs were analyzed for incidents of dramatic violence according to the specifications in the preceding section.

The following statistical procedures can be applied either to the total output, to the output of one network, or to the output for any particular type of programs.

Incidents per Week

Let X_i be the number of incidents in the i^{th} sample week. Let n be the number of weeks in the sample -- 13 in this case. Let N be the size of the universe -- 26 in this case. Then $\overline{X} = \Sigma X_i/n$ is the average weekly number of incidents.

$$\sigma^2 x = \left(1 - \frac{n}{N}\right)\left(\frac{\Sigma X_i^2}{n} - \overline{X}^2\right)$$

$$\sigma^2 \overline{X} = \sigma_x^2/n$$

$$\sigma \overline{X} = \sqrt{\sigma_{\overline{x}}^2}$$

is the standard error of the mean

Average Weekly Rate Per Hour

Let Y_i be the number of hours monitored in the ith sample week.

Then $z_i = X_i/Y_i$ is the rate per hour in the ith sampled week.

$\bar{z} = \Sigma z_i/n$ is the average weekly rate per hour

$$\sigma^2 z = (1 - \frac{n}{N}) \left(\frac{\Sigma z_i^2}{n} - \bar{z} \right)$$

$$\sigma^2 \bar{z} = \sigma^2 z / n$$

$\sigma \bar{z} = \sqrt{\sigma^2 \bar{z}}$ is the standard error of the mean

To Compare Two Averages

Let $\bar{X}_A$ be the first mean (e.g., one network, one type of program, one year).

Let $\bar{X}_B$ be the other mean independently measured.

Then $t = (\bar{X}_A - \bar{X}_B) / \sqrt{\sigma^2 \bar{X}_A + \sigma^2 \bar{X}_B}$

is "Student's" t, to be looked up in the table of the distribution of t with $(n_A - 1) + (n_B - 1)$ degrees of freedom. In this case, degrees of freedom equal 24.

Mr. **Mottl**. Thank you very much. We certainly appreciate your statement, Mr. Mater.

Next we will hear from Mr. Ralph Daniels, vice president of NBC. Mr. Daniels?

STATEMENT OF RALPH DANIELS

Mr. **Daniels**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

In view of the time I will not read all of my prepared statement which I will ask be included into the record.

I am Ralph Daniels——

Mr. **Mottl**. Mr. Daniels, may I impose upon you?

Let us recess for about 2 minutes. Mr. Wirth will be back in about 2 or 3 minutes. Then we will start up again.

We are going to try to catch this vote. We would like to hear your testimony. We will recess for about 2 minutes. When Mr. Wirth comes back, we will reassemble the subcommittee at that time.

[Brief recess.]

Mr. **Wirth**. Mr. Daniels, you may resume. We will continue hearing from each of you.

As you know, each of your statements will be submitted in full in the record.

Mr. **Daniels**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

As stated earlier, I will try to shortcut these remarks and hope that the complete remarks are in the record.

My name is Ralph Daniels. I am the vice president of the Department of Broadcast Standards of the National Broadcasting Co. It is a privilege for me to testify here today regarding a matter which has long been of importance to NBC.

NBC is keenly aware of the responsibility it has as a medium which reaches directly into the home. Thus, we believe that it is prudent to be concerned about the depiction of violence on television, and our programing reflects that concern.

I am not suggesting that NBC's goal is to eliminate all action or depiction of violence. Conflict is historically a legitimate and essential part of drama. What we strive to eliminate is gratuitous violence—violence which is inserted merely for its shock value and not because it is important to character or to plot.

Furthermore, where violence themes or scenes are important to a story, we insist that the method of presentation be such that it does not glorify violence or endorse it as an acceptable solution to human problems.

In addition, although any act may be emulated, we carefully avoid detailed portrayals of any technique which might facilitate a violent act or the commission of a crime.

Of course, these principles, which are set forth in our code of broadcast standards, are not self-executing. There is no simple objective test for determining whether depicition of violence is gratuitous or excessive.

We do not believe it is meaningful to quantify violence in terms of the number of punches or gunshots.

Such acts must be assessed in terms of their dramatic context, because it is that which endows them with meaning. The task of striking a balance between avioding excessive violence and allowing for realism requires informed subjective judgments.

These judgments, along with judgments in other areas of concern, are made at NBC by the experienced professionals in our broadcast standards department.

The department which I administer consists of more than 40 people located in New York City and in Burbank, Calif.

The average experience for a broadcast standards editor is 10 years.

Following established procedures of program surveillance based on our NBC code and the code of the National Association of Broadcasters, the broadcast standards department, prior to broadcast, reviews every entertainment program, with the exception of sports programs, whether live, on film, or on tape.

Our concerns are many. For example, careful attention is paid to avoiding sterotypes, coarse or profane language or material, graphic or explicit presentation of sexual matter, among other things.

Each broadcast season, before the start of series production, I and other NBC executives meet on the west coast with the producers and creative staffs of every program series to inform them of our policies and concerns, one of which is the avoidance of gratuitous or excessive violence.

Every effort is made to assure that they fully understand and appreciate our concerns and are willing and able to conform to our requirements.

A broadcast standards editor is assigned to each program or series.

As I point out on page 5, final approval of the broadcast is never given until we are satisfied that each program is acceptable under NBC standards.

In the case of feature films produced for initial theatrical release, somewhat different procedures are followed.

When we believe that a program could contain sensitive material which a family might regard as unsuitable to its own younger members, we air a special audience advisory.

When an advisory is considered necessary, it is presented in both audio and video form at the start of the program, at a later point in the program and, where possible, in appropriate promotional material in advance of the program.

NBC has a department of social research whose task it is to inform management about television's social impact. That department is one of the resources my department draws upon to insure that our decisions are consistent with what is known about television's effects.

NBC has always tried to continue to be informed about the possible impact of depictions of violence.

Even those who believe that televised violence causes some kinds of aggressive behavior do not claim that the evidence supports the conclusion that depiction of violence on television causes people to commit real life criminal violent act.

In any event, regardless of whether certain depictions of violence might cause aggressive behavior, the NBC policies and procedures which I have previously described are designed to insure that such depictions are not broadcast by NBC.

In recent years, in response to the changing tastes and needs of our diverse audience, the number of action-type programs have declined.

Some programs which we found acceptable 10 years ago would, under today's standards, require substantial revisions.

In all, I believe that we are acting responsibly and responsively to the needs of our viewers. Of course, no matter what our policies and practices, we will not be able to please everyone all of the time.

Perceptions and definitions of violence differ, sometimes materially. There will also always be those who feel we should ignor reality and not depict any violence, while there will be others who will feel that any tampering with a creative work is an affront to their intelligence and impinges upon their freedom as viewers to be informed and entertained with a broad spectrum of different program types, including those which may depict violence.

We intend to remain informed in this area and to continue to implement and follow policies and practices which are consistent with our responsibilities as a broadcaster.

[Mr. Daniels' prepared statement follows:]

STATEMENT OF RALPH DANIELS, VICE PRESIDENT, BROADCAST STANDARDS, NATIONAL BROADCASTING CO., INC.

My name is Ralph Daniels. I am the Vice President of the Department of Broadcast Standards of the National Broadcasting Company. It is a privilege for me to testify today regarding a matter which has long been of importance to NBC.

NBC is keenly aware of the responsibility it has as a medium which reaches directly into the home. Thus, we believe that it is prudent to be concerned about the depiction of violence on television, and our programming reflects that concern.

I am not suggesting that NBC's goal is to eliminate all action or depiction of violence. Conflict is historically a legitimate and essential part of drama. What we strive to eliminate is gratuitous violence -- violence which is inserted merely for its shock value and not because it is important to character or plot. Furthermore, where violence themes or scenes are important to a story, we insist that the method of presentation be such that it does not glorify violence or endorse it as an acceptable solution to human problems. In addition, although any act may be emulated, we carefully avoid detailed portrayals of any technique which might facilitate a violent act or the commission of a crime.

Of course, these principles, which are set forth in our Code of Broadcast Standards, are not self-executing. There is no simple objective test for determining whether depiction of violence is gratuitous or excessive. We do not believe it is meaningful to quantify violence in terms of the number of punches or gunshots. Such acts must be assessed in terms of their dramatic context, because it is that which endows them with meaning. The task of striking a balance between avoiding excessive violence and allowing for realism requires informed subjective judgments.

These judgments -- along with judgments in other areas of concern -- are made at NBC by the experienced professionals in our Broadcast Standards Department. The department which I administer consists of more than 40 people located in New York City and in Burbank, California. The average experience for a Broadcast Standards editor is 10 years. I think it is important to stress that the department reports to the Executive Vice President and General Counsel of NBC, and is independent of the reporting lines of the Program or Sales Departments. The separateness of the reporting lines makes clear the fact that the department is insulated from the pressures of sales and programming considerations.

Following established procedures of program surveillance based on our NBC Code and the Code of the National Association of Broadcasters, the Broadcast Standards Department, prior to broadcast, reviews every entertainment program, with the exception of sports programs, whether live, on film or on tape. Our concerns are many. For example, careful attention is paid to avoiding stereotypes, coarse or profane language or material, graphic or explicit presentation of sexual matter, among other things. I would be happy to supply the Subcommittee with a copy of the NBC Code, to provide you with a better idea of the range of our concerns.

Each broadcast season, before the start of series production, I and other NBC executives meet on the West Coast with the producers and creative staffs of every program series to inform them of our policies and concerns, one of which is the avoidance of gratuitous or excessive violence. Every effort is made to assure that they fully understand and appreciate our concerns and are willing and able to conform to our requirements.

A Broadcast Standards editor is assigned to each program or series. It is his or her responsibility, from the very inception of production, even before an initial script is written, to review the story outline and to advise the producer whether the program is acceptable for development. Once an outline is approved, and many are not, the editor reviews the script, specifying the changes or deletions which will be required. The process is repeated on subsequent drafts. Where the subject matter is especially sensitive, NBC may also engage a consultant or request that the producer retain one.

Only after the script is approved, if it is, does filming start. The editor then scrutinizes each day's film footage (the "dailys"), making appropriate changes and deletions when necessary. This review process continues through the "rough cut" stage, when all the dailys are assembled, through the final cut and editing, to the finished product. In the case of live programs, the effective review ends with the final rehearsal prior to broadcast. Throughout production, the editor maintains a running dialogue with the producer in daily telephone calls, memoranda and meetings, communicating his changes and concerns and making certain at each step of the clearance process that the developing program continues to conform to NBC standards.

Sometimes it is obvious from the outset that no amount of revision will make a program acceptable for broadcast. When this happens the program is rejected and no further time or effort is expended on it. Sometimes, despite every precaution, it is only when we screen the rough cut or tape that we are able to perceive that problems remain. Even at that late date we do not hesitate to require changes. Final approval for broadcast is never given until we are entirely satisfied that each program is acceptable under NBC standards.

In the case of feature films produced for initial theatrical release, somewhat different procedures are followed. Prior to acquisition, the Department of Broadcast Standards reviews the film to determine whether it is suitable for broadcast. Sometimes a film is acceptable in general theme and treatment but contains unacceptable scenes. If NBC determines that these scenes can be removed without impairing the film, the film is acquired. NBC then works closely with the production company to make the requisite changes. In some instances this may require shooting additional film footage. If NBC determines that the film cannot be revised to conform to our standards, we will not acquire the film for broadcast. The ratings of the Motion Picture Association of America may be referred to in arriving at a determination, but they do not and cannot substitute for NBC's own rigorous standards and experienced judgments. This responsibility must remain with NBC as the broadcaster.

When we believe that a program could contain sensitive material which a family might regard as unsuitable to its own younger members, we air a special audience advisory. When an advisory is considered necessary, it is presented in both audio and video form at the start of the program, at a later point in the program, and where possible, in appropriate promotional material in advance of the program.

NBC has a Department of Social Research whose task it is to inform management about television's social impact. That department is one of the resources my department draws upon to ensure that our decisions are consistent with what is known about television's effects. NBC has always tried to continue to be informed about the possible impact of depictions of violence.

As I understand it, based on many discussions with social scientists both within and outside NBC, the meaning of the research evidence on television violence has always been a subject about which honest men may have honest differences of opinion. There are those who believe that the evidence supports the conclusion that depiction of violence on television is a factor causing aggressive behavior. There are also scholars who believe that the evidence does not support such a conclusion. Even those who believe that televised violence causes some kinds of aggressive behavior do not claim that the evidence supports the conclusion that depiction of violence on television causes people to commit real-life criminal violent acts.

In any event, regardless of whether certain depictions of violence might cause aggressive behavior, the NBC policies and procedures which I have previously described are designed to ensure that such depictions are not broadcast by NBC.

In recent years, in response to the changing tastes and needs of our diverse audience, the number of action-type programs have declined. Some programs which we found acceptable ten years ago would under today's standards require substantial revisions.

In all, I believe that we are acting responsibly and responsively to the needs of our viewers. Of course, no matter what our policies and practices, we will not be able to please everyone all of the time. Perceptions and definitions of violence differ, sometimes materially. There will also always be those who feel we should ignore reality and not depict any violence, while there will be others who will feel that any tampering with a creative work is an affront to their intelligence and impinges upon their freedom as viewers to be informed and entertained with a broad spectrum of different program types, including those which may depict violence. We intend to remain informed in this area and to continue to implement and follow policies and practices which are consistent with our responsibilities as a broadcaster.

Mr. **Wirth**. Thank you very much, Mr. Daniels.

Gentlemen, I think going back to a reference Mr. Schneider made to the previous witness, I think it might be appropriate to give each of you a couple of minutes, if you would like, to respond to anything that you heard said in the first hour. I think that would be in the spirit of equity and fairness, and we are concerned about the fairness doctrine on this subcommittee.

Mr. **Mater**. I would like to respond.

I think Mr. Turner's imagination is exceeded only by his modesty, but there are one or two points that are worth trying to clear up.

Mr. Turner, I think, gave the impression that his motion picture offerings were Bing Crosby films back to back. Although his service is not available here in Washington, it is across the river.

The other day I looked at the Metro Cable program guide which is distributed by the Arlington, Va., cable system, to see what he really was offering.

The point has already been made that he relies greatly on off-network material, but he did boast about his films.

I looked at this Monday's offerings, for example. He has four films. I went to a source book by Leonard Waltman with one-liners about what the films are all about. He has "Five Golden Hours," which is described as a comedy mish-mash wavering between satire and slapstick as con man plots to utilize a witch to bedevil some victims.

Then he has "Smash-Up," one of Susan Hayward's best performances in the role of an alcoholic wife.

He has something called "The Bliss of Mrs. Blossom," which is referred to as an oddball original comedy with delicious performances about a wife of a brassiere manufacturer who keeps a lover in their attic for 5 years.

Then he also has something called "Savage Wilderness," which is described as "the usual happenings involving a stupid cavalry commander who incites Indian attack."

I also looked at his Saturday offerings. Although he does cater to the younger audience by offering such programs as "Vegetable Soup" and "Romper Room," he has again a pretty good fare of movies.

Last Saturday, for example, he offered "Seminole Uprising," "The Missiles of October," "The Sands of Iwo Jima," and "Bandito."

Next Saturday he offers children "Tank Force," "East of Eden," "Crash Dive," and "Angels With Dirty Faces."

He has others, "Back to Bataan," "Rebel Without a Cause," and "Suspicion."

I am not troubled by Mr. Turner's programing schedule. I really am not. Some of those films are great.

I am a little bothered by his sanctimonious approach and his apparent claims to be leading this Nation down the path to some ill-defined new righteousness.

I cited these motion pictures merely to indicate that it isn't Bing Crosby back to back on his so-called super station.

Thank you.

Mr. **Wirth**. Mr. Schneider?

Mr. **Schneider**. I had just one comment.

I think there was some discussion with respect to the cigarette advertising prohibition passed by the Congress without referring to the first amendment or constitutionality of such a law, which was before commercial speech cases.

Nevertheless, the law itself, since it did not restrict cigarette advertising in other media, really was not, I think, an effective kind of law in terms of the problem that it attempted to reach and that cigarette smoking has increased, is still a major problem.

I am not quite sure that that—a law of that nature is the solution to the problem. I think the approaches we are all trying to set forth for this committee in the past 10 years, I think we have each learned a lot in terms of the responsiveness with which the networks have approached an attempt to contain excessive and gratuitous violence in television programs by the fact that we are again with you today on the dialog that you rightfully seek and by the fact that social researchers—each of us, have brought to the table not only dollars, but manpower and study which is outside the whole economic problem, should indicate an intent of responsibility and an intent of concern and an attempt to meet the problem as both citizens of this country and responsible broadcasters.

Mr. **Wirth**. Mr. Daniels?

Mr. **Daniels**. No comment on Mr. Turner's testimomy.

Mr. **Mottl**. Mr. Blank, you were trying to get in from CBS?

Mr. **Blank**. I had just one other comment. We have been doing at CBS our own monitoring of depictions of television violence for about a decade now, depictions of violence on the three television networks.

When I heard Mr. Turner was going to be a witness, assuming I made a good guess as to what he was going to say, I thought it might be interesting to monitor his schedule.

We did monitor his prime time entertaiment schedule for the week of October 7 through 13 as shown in the New York area.

His rate of violence, depictions of violence per hour, was almost identical to that of the three networks. There was no difference whatsoever in the amount of violence on his schedule as compared with the three network schedules.

Mr. **Wirth**. Am I hearing from you, Mr. Mater, and Mr. Blank, that the alleged predominant acceptance of network programing on Mr. Turner's schedule, means violence on television is justified or a good thing?

Mr. **Mater**. I didn't say that.

Mr. **Wirth**. You said you found that perfectly all right, what Mr. Turner aired on his station.

Mr. **Mater**. I said some of the films were classics. They are.

Mr. **Wirth**. "Brassieres in the Attic"?

Mr. **Mater**. No, it wasn't "Brassieres in the Attic." It was "A Lover in the Attic." It was the wife of a brassiere manufacturer.

Mr. **Wirth**. The inevitable congressional shorthand.

Mr. **Marks**. He didn't offer us a tape for that one, you know.

Mr. **Mater**. I noticed that, Mr. Marks.

No, I am not attacking his schedule. I am just attacking his approach.

I object to this sanctimonious approach that we are evil and he is good.

It just isn't so. His schedule is no different than that of any other independent television station in the United States.

Mr. **Mottl**. Mr. Chairman, are they all a bunch of evils now?

Mr. **Wirth**. It seems to me what we are doing again is begging the issue.

The issue is, what do we know about and what is the effect of violence on television on kids and on our society in general.

To have one pot calling another kettle black or whatever it may be, seems to me continues to beg the issue.

Let me, if I might, see if I can shift the question to another issue that is somewhat parallel.

A lot of broadcasters and the FCC have put forth a case for the repeal of the fairness doctrine. In doing so, they say that broadcasters can be relied upon to act responsibly in the absence of any kind of governmental regulation. We all are familiar with what the fairness doctrine is and the pressue coming from the broadcasters and the FCC to repeal the fairness doctrine for which I don't think there is a great deal of stomach on Capitol Hill. However, if you look at the claims of broadcaster responsibility, which accompany claims for repealing the fairness doctrine, and then look at what is shown on television, it seems to me you end up in something of a dilemma with respect to violence on television.

As you pointed out, Mr. Schneider, and as all of us have pointed out, we have had a long discussion about this and it doesn't seem to appear that the problem has gotten very much better. We still have continuing complaints from people all across the country about the level of violence and a lot of analysis other than your own social science analysis that suggests this is significantly deleterious.

If the claim is made that we repeal the fairness doctrine because broadcasters are responsible, but we look at the record as to violence on television, what level of broadcaster responsibility is manifested? Based on your record with respect to televised violence, how can we be expected to assume that we should turn all responsibility over to broadcasters in terms of the political dialog in this country, the public affairs dialog in this country? Can we assume that there is a legitimate parallel there as to the extent to which broadcasters will act responsibly, and that we should learn something from the pattern you have already set in the area of violence?

I would be happy if you would give me some help in understanding that parallel.

Mr. **Mater**. I am a little puzzled by the linking of the fairness doctrine with the violence issue.

Mr. **Wirth**. The claim is that there, like with violence on television, broadcasters act responsibily, therefore allow the unfettered discretion of broadcasters to determine public affairs coverage.

We have first amendment issues raised with respect to the fairness doctrine and the suggestion that Congress should do something to limit the broadcast of violent programs. And the Supreme Court has said clearly that the fairness doctrine goes to fundamental first amendment rights in this country and is something that is consistent with the first amendment.

Mr. **Mater**. As far as the fairness doctrine is concerned, if I may address that briefly, I think there are good and sufficient reasons for the repeal of the fairness doctrine.

I know this has come up before. I learned the meaning of fairness as a newspaperman.

Nobody told me there was a law that said I had to be fair, but this is what I learned.

Mr. **Wirth**. That is the old argument. Come on, Mr. Mater, you can do better than that.

You know of the *Red Lion* case.

Mr. **Mater**. I know the *Red Lion* case. I am not a lawyer, but I can speak as a broadcaster.

If you want to link the two——

Mr. **Wirth**. We are talking about the responsibility of broadcasters. That is the fundamental issue we want to get at.

Mr. **Mater**. That is what I was about to say.

As far as the fundamental responsibility of the broadcaster, I think the broadcaster has reacted to an expressed concern regarding violence and I don't think there is any question about it.

I think our figures, out studies, and lots of other studies—and this is one of the points I tried to make in my prepared statement—that there is no unanimity.

I think it was Dr. Rubenstein who pretty much headed up the Surgeon General's report who commented recently where there used to be gray areas there are now black and white.

In other words, there are more defined issues, if you will, and more people who definitely believe, more social scientists who believe, there is no cause and effect relationship between televised violence and social behavior.

Equally important is the fact all of us have reduced violence. The depiction of violence has changed, changed dramatically. It has changed in its portrayal, changed and been reduced in terms of numbers.

I don't think there is any question about it. We have acted responsibly.

Mr. **Wirth**. Mr. Schneider?

Mr. **Schneider**. Congressman Wirth, I don't think that we have a double standard.

I think our company, Mr. Ehrlich, our senior vice president and general counsel, has testified whether or not there is a fairness doctrine, the American Broadcasting Co., will still take the responsibility of making sure there is objective discussion of controversial issues of public importance and it also raises the question of access.

I think that we recognize that there are responsibilities in the area of controversiality as there are in the area of violence.

I think there has been an amelioration in terms of the extent of incident of violence that are portrayed and it also depends very much upon the kind of program.

I personally was involved in some of the decisions that we had to reach in the violence that was contained in "Roots."

I would dare say in the presentation of that program we permitted a great deal more violence than I would have permitted in some plain detective action programs.

I think at times when we looked at that with our staff we felt, had we not portrayed it in the manner in which we did, we would not have conveyed the horrendous problem of slavery as it existed in our time.

We are dealing with subjective judgments on a case-by-case basis.

The introduction of this incident classification analysis form which we have tried to inject as a qualitative measure in terms of examining when violence is appropriate and when it is not appropriate is something we are working on.

We are not perfect with it. We haven't developed it to an extent yet that I can say I am satisfied.

We, indeed, are trying to be able to balance the viewers' interest in seeing programs of this kind with the necessity to take into consideration the social responsibility with respect to programs that deal with conflict.

Mr. WIRTH. Mr. Daniels?

Mr. DANIELS. The fairness doctrine is not an area in which I work, so I won't comment on that.

To the point of general responsibility, and responsiveness in broadcast standards, I think the prepared statements of each of us have indicated that.

I mentioned in my own statement the fact that certain programs 10, 12 years ago, that were on the air that were brought back 4, 5, 6, 7, years later, when we looked at those programs we took a second look and realized there was what we at that point in state of the art of Broadcast Standards' evaluation and editing, it went beyond what we would then accept.

For those that we evaluated, we edited, for those we eventually broadcast, they had to be edited.

To the other point, Mr. Schneider's comment about the different kinds of programs, certainly when we ran "Shogun" we did some things on that mini-series that had never been done before.

In "Holocaust" we did things which we felt reflected that society, this time, that culture. So we have one standard, but it is applied in different ways. We do on the "Johnny Carson Show" late at night or on "Saturday Night Live" is quite different from what we do to 8 to 9 at night, or in a special series that is of particular importance to the general viewership.

Mr. WIRTH. Gentlemen, I have to go to a session on another issue which is near and dear to your heart, copyright retransmission consent, which I know is of passionate concern to you; perhaps of greater concern than this hearing.

Let me just say that I have been involved in this for 6 years on this subcommittee. I went back and reviewed the transcript of the 1977 hearings on this issue in which we really were in barricades. From one side of the table it was almost as if there was no problem in the outside world, and that everything in this society—every one of society's problems—were rooted in what happened on television.

I think we have come a long way. I must say I found all of your presentations, and your interest and concern a step in the right direction.

We must ask from a public policy perspective, what is that right direction? Consistent with the first amendment, what can we do? That is clearly the kind of discussions we are having here.

I think they are very helpful. I think you have a sense of the concern of this subcommittee and its membership and the attendance today is a very clear reflection of that. People are very deeply concerned about how we socialize our young.

I really appreciate the direction you are taking and the comments you are making. We have not solved many of the problems though, which we will hear about from the next panel.

As one involved in watching this process over a long period, I wanted to register that.

Mr. Mottl?

Mr. Mottl [presiding]. I have a couple of questions for the panel.

Has the impact of the shows "Born Innocent" and "The Deer Hunter" affected the networks' portrayal of violence on television?

Mr. Daniels. I will respond to part of that.

"The Deer Hunter" is a feature film that did not run—was not purchased by any of the networks.

Mr. Mottl. But it was run on local television stations?

Mr. Daniels. Yes. I can only comment that we reviewed the film at NBC and determined we would not—could not edit that film—feature film, to be acceptable to your standards.

As to the *Born Innocent* case, I believe that still is under consideration in the court in California.

There is no evidence that there was any cause/effect relationship in what occurred there and what occurred in a crime in California. So that is in the hands of the lawyers and the courts so far as I know.

Mr. Mottl. It is your opinion and the opinion of the other members of the networks that there is no correlation between shows like "Born Innocent" and "The Deer Hunter" and what follows thereafter as far as aggressive, violent behavior?

Mr. Daniels. So far as the—the only one on television, Born Innocent, that was on NBC. There is no correlation that has been proved, and the major response we got about that program was over 300 and some social agencies across the country, social welfare, social work, penology, all of whom congratulated us on dealing with that subject of young people in an institution and how they live and how they can be helped and in some cases not helped and what goes on in that minisociety, a very serious problem.

We felt we were very much on the right track and doing a responsible job in presenting that program.

Mr. Mottl. Anybody else like to comment on those shows?

Mr. Schneider. I think, Congressman Mottl, what you are indicating is that there are certain aberrations in our society which, whether or not—we would not accept the fact that there is a correlation. certainly one can say that there have been a number of reports and papers that, after "The Deer Hunter" was run—and we all turned it down for the very same reason, because of the concern with respect to its emulatability in terms of the playing of the roulette wheel.

Those are certain risks society takes, whether it be in movies, motion pictures, books, or on television.

Although we are confronted with the issue that you present by that, to what extent do you not show anything on the air and to what extent do you take a responsible, reasonable approach in dealing with drama in the manner in which we do.

That is a question that concerns us all.

Mr. **Mater**. If I might just return to the question of responsibility raised by Mr. Wirth, I think "The Deer Hunter" may very well be an indication of that.

Apparently, if the press reports are to be believed, we all turned it down. We all looked at it. We all felt it coundn't be edited sufficiently to meet our standards.

Each network operates independently.

I know we looked at it. We also saw an edited version and felt we just couldn't air it on CBS.

Mr. **Mottl**. Mr. Mater, I think you said before there is a decrease in violence on television?

Mr. **Mater**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Mottl**. What years did you notice the decrease in television violence and to what degree has there been a decrease and what type of violence has been decreased on television?

Mr. **Mater**. Well, I refer to prime time dramatic program violence. I refer to a decline from the first year we studied until now.

I would just as soon Dr. Blank, who was responsible for that activity, respond to that.

Mr. **Mottl**. Dr. Blank?

Mr. **Blank**. We started monitoring in 1972-73 season. We are monitoring currently.

The decrease is over that, roughly, a decade period the magnitude of the decrease in about a quarter for all the networks combined, slightly more than that for CBS.

The decrease has been fairly steady over time, with irregularities. We don't count them and then count up programs and say——

Mr. **Mottl**. What is the amount of decrease?

Mr. **Blank**. About a quarter.

Mr. **Mottl**. Twenty-five percent?

Mr. **Blank**. Twenty-five percent over the decade in the amount of depictions of violence on the networks by our standards.

Mr. **Mottl**. This is in prime time?

Mr. **Blank**. Prime time entertainment programing.

As I say, the decrease has been fairly steady over time with some irregularities, and we are now pretty close to the low point in the period.

Mr. **Mottl**. Is there a certain type of violence you are talking about? How would you define it? Is there a definition?

Mr. **Blank**. Our definition is essentially acts of interpersonal, physical violence or threats thereof.

We don't categorize our violence by particular kind. We aggregate the amount of violence and it is that measure that I am referring to.

Mr. **Mottl**. Thank you, Mr. Blank.

The gentleman from Texas, do you have any questions of the panel?

Mr. **Collins**. I have one question. In violence, do your networks make a conscious effort to determine whether the black hat guy is clearly shown and the white hat is clearly shown?

In other words, today I get the impression when I watch those shows that a lot of times the real thug is shown as kind of a nice guy.

Mr. **Mater**. Well, I think all of us—and I can only speak for CBS, but our basic approach is that evil will not prevail.

Mr. **Collins**. Do you really try to show them up as bad guys?

In the old days, when we had the old cowboy shows, I liked "Maverick," "Hopalong Cassidy," all of that.

The difference was really clear. Today it has gotten to be kind of a gray area.

Mr. **Mater**. I think part of the problem is, we don't wear hats any more. I am not trying to be facetious, but certainly it was true in the cowboy shows. I do think we make it clear that evil will not prevail.

Mr. **Collins**. On CBS there is a show about a city called Dallas.

Mr. **Mater**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Collins**. Do you think they show the bad guys to be the deadheads they really are?

Mr. **Mater**. Mr. Collins, you are far more familiar with Dallas as a city than I am. I know the show, you know the city.

I don't think this is supposed to be in any way a depiction of real life in Dallas, and we don't profess it to be that at all.

It is pure entertainment.

An awful lot of people like it, but, you know, if it were called Houston or some place in another district, I don't think it would change.

Mr. **Blank**. I also don't think there is any question in the audience's mind who wears the black hat in "Dallas."

Mr. **Collins**. You don't think it shows him as kind of a nice guy?

Mr. **Mater**. He is the kind of man you love to hate. That works. It is entertainment.

I don't think there is anything really wrong with entertainment per se. There is no violence in "Dallas." It is a show that a lot of people like. An awful lot of people like.

It is one of the most successful programs on television today.

Ms. **Collins**. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. **Collins**. Be a pleasure to.

Ms. **Collins**. I just want everyone to know who is wearing the white hat now.

Mr. **Mottl**. The gentleman from New York, Mr. Scheuer?

Mr. **Scheuer**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have to make a little footnote here that I don't think it is up to the Congress to mandate to the television networks and the authors that violence has to be portrayed in forms of good guys and bad guys.

If you look back through the great literature of mankind, you find that violence doesn't happen that way.

If you look at the plays of Aeschyles and Sophocles and Euripedes, you find a certain inevitability and we are all tied up; it is written in the stars, good people, bad people, all kinds of people get involved in violent situations.

Very gory situations, people gouging their own eyes out, fantasizing, you remember the fables of Medea, the travels of Odysseus that are permeated with violence.

My goodness, the plays of Shakespeare, where violence is protrayed in all kinds of circumstances. If you remember the play "Othello," that is indelibly written in my mind because when I was at the Harvard Business School over four decades ago, I had to work on the portrayal of Othello, the presentation of "Othello" in the Cambridge Theater with Paul Robeson.

I know every line of that play backward and forward. I carried a spear.

Othello was essentially a good man. It was the people around him who finally twisted his mind gradually and created this venomous, jealousy against his wife. He was a good man who strangled his wife on stage.

You couldn't imagine anything more gory than that, but he was a white hat. I think Congress better stay out of the business of telling the networks how to portray violence. I think any suggestion that we think it ought to be white hats and black hats would be totally inappropriate.

As a matter of fact, the first amendment, I think, pretty clearly keeps us out of the business of guidelines or standards. If any of you—and we have been perplexed; we have had these hearings year after bloody year. Literally and figuratively.

We are concerned with the effects of violence, especially on our young kids.

I am very concerned with the effects of television as a totality and the effect of the sugared cereal ads, the candy ads on infants, young kids, 2, 3, 4 years old, their lifetime dietary habits that are going to have a devastating impact on their health outputs.

But we are faced with the first amendment.

I would like—and we believe in the Constitution here. There is not a man in this room that wouldn't give up his or her seat in defense of the first amendment and the great Constitution that we cherish.

Mr. COLLINS. Will the gentleman yield a moment?

Mr. SCHEUER. Let me finish this question.

Can any of you give us any guidance as to what our role should be in full respect of the first amendment and the constraints that are properly placed on us by the Constitution of the United States, how can we play and how should we play a constructive role in the mindless violence that we perceive on television without crossing that dangerous line of invading first amendment rights and imposing constraints on the Constitution that we aren't properly allowed to do?

Mr. DANIELS. Just to offer one thing, the reminder that this meeting is talking place and others have taken place like it since television started is helpful as well as the scientists we talked to, the pressure groups that talk to us, all the interested parties representing small or large populations, that we serve in our mass medium.

All of these reminders keep our fingers to the fire as we try new methods, techniques, develop skills among our professionals, keep them, pay them more to do the job that you have described, Mr.

Scheuer, in evaluating the impact, because I agree with you, Mr. Collins, it is not necessarily black and white all the time.

They are not easily identifiable. In fact, in the old days maybe Humphrey Bogart and Edward G. Robinson were, in fact, heavies, but were portrayed as the nice guys.

Now it is a lot greyer area. I think of "Hill Street Blues" on our own network. It is sometimes hard to figure out. We think more and more the audiences are sophisticated and they have shown they are sophisticated about that.

We just have to keep working at it and develop our skills and wherever science can help us, as well as the creative artists community to work with us to fine-tune it.

Because we consider the responsibility we have a very, very great one.

Mr. SCHEUER. I yield to my colleague from Texas.

Mr. COLLINS. The gentleman compared television with "Othello." I think it is misleading to compare great literature with television. Maybe 1 percent of the people would read great literature, but television is watched by 100 percent of the masses.

I think there is a complete difference.

There is a different impact.

If anyone doubts the impact of television compared to the written word of literature, I think there is a big difference.

I agree with him about the first amendment, but the impact, your responsibility on what you do to convey and impress the real—it almost conveys a way of life to America today.

Mr. MOTTL. Thank you very much, Mr. Scheuer, Mr. Collins.

Next, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Marks.

Mr. MARKS. Mr. Chairman, I think there is a tendency unfortunately in hearings like this for both the witnesses and possibly for even us to suggest outrage to some extent, to go to extremes with really little concern for the remedies.

I find it unfortunate that because of the time situation that you gentlemen are testifying before the next panel because the next panel is really the panel that is going to present to us evidence of many studies tht have been made that indicate to a very large extent that there is a problem, and, as I understand your testimony, it really is that you acknowledge that there is a problem, at least of sorts, and up to a certain degree you have tried to keep that problem from getting out of hand.

I think in that sense we have to compliment you for trying.

I guess the question in our minds is whether you have gone far enough, particularly on the basis of the fact that we all on this panel, men and women on this panel, are concerned about the first amendment, realize our obligation to preserving that first amendment and, therefore, for the most part—and I remember back in 1977 when he had these hearings also—we suggested that you have to bear a very, very great burden because of the first amendment. You have to be able to share the responsibility to some extent.

Whether you have actually come as far as you should have come, I think, is doubtful.

I am not sure that some of the very wild statements made by our previous witness can be backed up factually, but he does make a point that we find, as Members of the Congress, as we go back to our districts and talk to our people, believe it or not, our people, though they talk to us about high interest rates and taxes and the economy and the rest, they do from time to time indicate to us concerns that they have about what they have been seeing and sometimes even hearing on radio, reading in newspapers, the magazines, but certainly seeing on television.

They are critical of it.

I think to some extent they have a right to be. I guess there is no one on this committee that has been on the committee any longer than I to begin with—other than the chairman—who has been more critical of programing from all three of the networks—not necessarily pinpointed into violence—as have I.

I realize in being critical that you have made an attempt and are making some attempt to try to remedy it. I guess one of the other—there are two areas I am concerned about.

One happens to be what you haven't done in the late night areas.

I watched a program called "Saturday Night Live." I have to confess to you I am not sure which of the networks carries that. I guess it is NBC.

Mr. Daniels. Yes.

Mr. Marks. I watched it the other night. I did that because my children told me that is a very funny program. I watched that program. I noted—I didn't laugh. It may be I don't have a sense of humor.

I didn't really laugh that night. I heard such words as "crap" used over and over again, the advertising of the great advantages to become a prostitute.

If you gentlemen don't think for one moment that we don't have children of rather young years who are up after 8 o'clock, you are wrong, and who watch those programs.

I am concerned about the way you depict life and language and the rest on all of us, and then in the—on the Saturday progrms, your children's programs, I think it is interesting that Dr. George Gerbner, who will testify soon, the dean of the Annenberg School of Communications, and really a super guy—I have heard him testify before and talked with him—in his testimony today, and I am going to quote some of it to you, says,

> Violence in weekend daytime children's TV programs, already the most violent on television, rose last year on every measure and on all three major networks.
>
> The most substantial rise was registered in the rate of violent incidents per hour. Weekend daytime programs bombard children with an average of over 25 violent acts per hour, up from 17 the year before, and well above the average rate in the 14 years of this project.

They have been doing this for 14 years. So for you to come to us and say that you are concerned and we appreciate that, and you are trying to do somnething about it, I think statistics like that must be shown a great deal mnore deference than perhaps what you have done so far.

I would be pleased to hear any answers that you may have to that, particularly in the two areas I am talking about, the late night television and the weekend children's programs.

Mr. Mater. If I may—I can't talk about "Saturday Night Live." It is on past my bedtime.

Mr. **Marks**. I say, Mr. Mater—may I say I just used that? I didn't pick our NBC. Believe me, your network and ABC have the same types of problems; at least our constituents think they do.

Mr. **Mater**. Part of the problem, as far as Saturday morning, is concerned Mr. Marks, is you accepted Dr. Gerbner's figures. We don't. We don't accept his methodology or approach.

As far as Saturday morning is concerned, if Bugs Bunny pours a pitcher of milk over a chipmunk's head, Dr. Gerbner says that is an act of violence. I don't think it is.

I think that is where we begin to come apart.

Some of the material that we are submitting from CBS involves an exchange with Dr. Gerbner in terms of his approach and our questioning the validity of that approach. When Dr. Gerbner talks about this vast increase, he is not talking necessarily about whole numbers.

He has a lot of other factors. It is not necessarily a question of x number of incidents of violence going up. It is who did what to whom. He is interested in other things.

Some of your witnesses to follow, the little I have seen of their material, indicate that they rely heavily on Dr. Belson who did an extensive study that we funded.

Dr. Belson also pointed out that comedic violence, which is what Saturday morning is all about, really doesn't have that sort of impact on people.

Dr. Gerbner, on the one hand, talks about this increase. I don't know it there is or not, in terms of absolute numbers, and you have many others who say it has no impact.

Clearly, commonsense, if nothing else, should prevail and indicate that, as I say, if Bugs Bunny pours a pitcher of milk over a chipmunk's head, that is not an act of violence.

I would like——

Mr. **Blank**. I just want to comment briefly that one of our many points of disagreement with Dr. Gerbner has been with respect to the issue of comedic violence.

We have seen no evidence of any kind that satisfies us that comedic violence does have any effect on people which leads to criminality.

I think we all grew up with comedic violence.

Mr. **Scheuer**. What kind of violence?

Mr. **Blank**. Comedic violence, Bugs Bunny, humor. Not serious violence, a serious program where people are seriously hurt.

If Bugs Bunny is run over and bounces up again, that is an act of violence by some people's definition.

Mr. **Marks**. I have to apologize to you that the NBC and ABC lights just went out over here when you were talking.

Mr. **Blank**. Basically we don't accept that view. If you don't accept that view, then the characterization of Saturday morning as being the most violent time in the schedule just falls by the wayside.

Mr. **Mottl**. Mr. Daniels, do you have a comment?

Mr. **Daniels**. Yes. We rely not only on our social research department, Mr. Marks, but also on a panel of four distinguished—now five distinguished social scientists in the field of child psychology and other related fields all of whom do examine our Saturday morning programing before it goes on the air, when it is just at a script level.

I have had no indication of the kinds of conclusions that Dr. Gerbner—that you quoted from him.

On the point of "Saturday Night Live," although it is not related to violence, I will comment since it is on NBC that started about 6 years ago.

That program was innovative, certainly different from anything else that had been on the mass media before. We made a few mistakes along the way. I won't say we still haven't made them recently or won't even in the future, but when you are on the edge, on the margin of dealing with humor and satire, you take some chances.

I suppose the broadcast standards department at NBC has bent more in that program than any other. I think to the benefit of the viewers in general, in terms of attacking some subjects and issues in a humorous satiric form which I think is very healthy.

For any poor language, vulgar language that may have been in there, I apologize for that. We feel that is a self-selecting audience late Saturday night. It is the only place where we do run a program of that kind. There's some risk involved, I grant you that.

Mr. Scheuer. Will the witness yield on that?

Again I don't think Congress should be in the position of dampening particular programs. My kids also introduced me to "Saturday Night Live." I have watched it on a number of occasions. I think it is screamingly funny.

I think it is by far the most sophisticated program on television. I wish there were a heck of a lot more programs like "Saturday Night Live."

I can't believe that the broad satire that might be involved in how great is the life of a prostitute could conceivably be construed as serious by any young woman.

If you are talking about girls below the age of 14 or 15, there is a certain parental responsibility in getting them to bed by 11:30.

I think it is a terrific program. It is the only example I know of very funny, very sophosticated, very satirical programing. I think it is great. I think there ought to be more of it.

Mr. Mottl. Does the gentlewoman from Illinois have any questions?

Ms. Collins. Yes, I do.

Mr. Chairman, when the previous witness was here, there seemed to be some slight discussion about the greater acceptance of violence by people in the lower socioeconomic strata of our economy. Therefore, I have some questions about the Neilsen ratings. How much of your programing is influenced by Neilsen ratings?

Mr. Schneider. The Neilsen rating is one factor that is taken into consideration in the decisionmaking process.

Ms. Collins. Is it a weighted factor?

Mr. Schneider. I don't know if you can say it is weighted by a numerical statistical thing.

It is certainly weighted in terms of the audience acceptability of the program, in terms of an overall schedule, diversity is another problem, the different types of programs and formats, introduction of types of programs.

You have a number of decisionmaking processes.

Ms. **Collins**. All of those factors are combined into one whole to make you decide which program you are going to keep on the air and which you are going to take off.

How much, if any, direct response or acceptability of programs do you get from John Q. Listener? Do you receive letters saying this is a fine program, keep it on the air?

Mr. **Schneider**. Sure. We each have audience information departments which tabulate that mail and review it for management.

Ms. **Collins**. That goes into the whole pot of programing as well?

Mr. **Schneider**. That is reviewed.

Ms. **Collins**. On your Neilsen rating: When those statistics are being brought about, you cover the whole spectrum geographically and socioeconomically and so forth, don't you? Basically there is a ready acceptance of the programs that you put over the air, right?

Mr. **Schneider**. Yes.

Ms. **Collins**. Let me ask you another question relating to that: A proposed program is sent down to your broadcast standards editor's office. Is that the guy who makes the final decisions on what is going to be shown and how various programing will hit the air?

Mr. **Schneider**. He is involved in the everyday script review and determination of the acceptability of a program, yes.

There are various supervisory levels in which appeals are made from time to time.

Ms. **Collins**. How many minorities are in your various network offices of broadcast standards and so forth?

Mr. **Daniels**. In the case of NBC, I don't know that I can count them.

As a premise, we start knowing that we are making decisions about programs, variety, drama, the whole range of kinds of programs that we are going to show members of minorities, all minorities.

So in our case on the west coast, where most of our prime time programing is reviewed, we try to have a number of women. We have 4 women now out of 12.

We have two Hispanics, two black. We try to give the range.

We can't cover all the minorities, but those are two primary ones that concern us. Then there is a great deal of cross fertilization and checking within the department.

If I have a show, the "Hill Street Blues" that shows blacks, are those blacks just the perpetrators or are they the policeman? Is the drug addict white or black?

We have those kinds of concerns. We share that within the department with the program producer and production company, with the program executives, and then we go to outside consultants, in many cases, to get expert help.

Mr. **Schneider**. I would like to comment on that too.

Mr. **Mater**. I would like to touch on the whole basic subject.

Mr. **Mottl**. Mr. Mater?

Mr. **Mater**. There really are at least three factors that go into the mix in terms of audience acceptance or interest in programing.

One is the mail you referred to. At CBS we receive 250,000 letters a year. Each of those letters is read, analyzed, logged, and a report goes out on a regular basis to a large list of executives throughout the company, to indicate what the audience feels.

Second, a very large factor is the affiliate. Each of 3 networks has about 200 affiliates. I am sure it is the same with the other two, but our affiliates are not at all reluctant to tell us what they think about programs and what their local audience thinks about programs. So there is feedback. Indeed, there is a regular system of reporting to a number of us their statements and complaints and cautions and so forth.

The third factor is the Nielsen rating. Surely to us it is important, but it is important to everyone in a diffrent sense.

The Washington Post today carries a rather long story on its business page about the increased circulation of the Washington Post.

It is laudatory. They have picked up a lot of readers. It is the same sort of thing with us.

Unfortunately Nielsen has a negative connotation and circulation sounds fine.

The ratings are important, because all it means is are people watching or aren't they?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. I think Congresswoman Collins, the ratings are clearly a factor. The basic philosophy, however, is in terms of diversified scheduling.

The attempt is made to look at the package as a whole and the ratings are only one part. So far as minorities, we have two blacks, one Asian, one Hispanic, and 50 percent of our staff on the west coast are women, but I would like to go back to the children's programing for a point, because I think a major learning process, we all know, takes place from television.

A number of years ago we placed emphasis on the fact that we would attempt to inject minorities in the social aspects of children's programs.

If you look at some of the ABC daytime programs, a definite intent and effort is made to portray minorities, whether they are Indian, Asians, blacks in cartoons.

It was never done before television. They were always white-faced animated cartoons. I think also we overlook the fact of the extent to which we have all injected prosocial messages.

We now carry 3½ minutes of nutritional messages and health messages in our daytime Saturday morning children's programing. The Heimlich maneuver, good eating habits, safety habits.

Mr. SCHEUER. Three and a half minutes per what?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Per morning. If you take the morning—it is interjected throughout the day, 30 second spots throughout the whole 9 to 12 o'clock time period. It was not done a number of years ago.

Mr. SCHEUER. 3.5 out of 180?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. I don't think you take——

Mr. SCHEUER. You have 3 hours. That is 180 minutes.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. That is right.

Mr. SCHEUER. You are not talking about 3.5 minutes per hour?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. If you take 3.5 minutes of 30 second spots per the 3 hours, that is correct. It is a minute per hour. It is a minute per hour.

That is in the overall balance, but then you also have "Scholastic Rock," which is a 5-minute program dealing with learning, drama, or mathematics.

Each of us has a different formula that we use. We do not permit any weapons to be used. When you talk about destruction, no real live guns, weapons, shots may be fired in any animated cartoon. We don't permit any real live weaponry, no knives to be used.

All you see, even in the action programs are laser beams, lights, or action-oriented kinds of cases so that again—although we all disagree with the way that Dr. Gerbner is counting acts of violence—you must go to the definition of how he determines what violence is and whether or not you agree with that definition in terms of the count or whether there has been a decrease or increase in the amount of violence.

Ms. **Collins**. Mr. Schneider, I believe in your testimony you mentioned that violent behavior, when portrayed, must be reasonably related to the story line. The thought occurred to me that at the time that perhaps the power of suggestion is just as great now as it was formerly when we didn't see the direct or almost direct acts of violence.

Is there a possibility that you could simply use effectively the power of suggestion, rather than the actual showing of violence and still keep your story line intact?

Mr. **Schneider**. A good deal of work is done making violence take place off camera. That is often directed by us in your notes to the production people.

Mr. **Mottl**. Next we will hear from the gentleman from Louisiana, Mr. Tauzin.

Mr. **Tauzin**. I think Mr. Markey is next.

Mr. **Mottl**. The gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Markey.

Mr. **Markey**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I think it probably would have been more helpful just in terms of the structuring of the hearing if the next panel had been on before, because I guess in all trials the indictment should be levied before the defendants sit at the witness stand.

Mr. **Schneider**. Assuming we are defendants.

Mr. **Markey**. Assuming in a very broad analogy.

Mr. **Marks**. After listening to Mr. Turner, if you don't think you are——

Mr. **Mater**. I think it is beyond the indictment stage.

Mr. **Marks**. It probably would have been more helpful to us just in terms of the elucidation of the actual charges made by Dr. Gerbner or Dr. Radecki and action for children's television and others if the sequence had been reversed and we probably could have had a more elightened, broader dialog than is possible here since Mr. Turner does not really represent, in his views, a scientific or analytic presentation in the manner Dr. Gerbner and others do.

What is, I guess, at question is the—is not so much the right of television to show violence.

I don't think anyone denies that, whether it be Shakespeare, whether it be "Roots," whether it be any program.

It is really not the question of the quality of the violence, it is the quantity of it.

How much it permeates the total amount of television programing that is most disturbing to people and whether it be prime time television or it be children's weekend television programing that is really what is at issue here.

It is the proper balance that it plays in the overall program structure of the networks.

No one would object to the decision that you made on "Roots," you made in "Sho-Gun," you made on any other program to include perhaps more graphically than you would ordinarily a depiction of a violent act, as long as it was done in the context of a highly professionally done program.

I think what people are more concerned about is the quantity of violence that the general society is exposed to and, most especially, children.

What is it that makes a Hinckley susceptible to seeing a movie and then acting out what he has seen in a bizarre and distorted manifestation of real life reflecting art?

I guess to a certain extent, many of us would believe it would be what children are exposed to, not at age 17 or 18, or if Hinckley is 24 or 25; that is not where the real problem is.

The real problem is when you get back to children who are 3, 4, 5, and 7 and 8. What they are seeing is a constant diet of programing. Where we would, I guess, begin to wonder whether or not—whether there is some concern is when Dr. Radecki—and I will go to his testimony because he won't have a chance of getting into this dialog with you—is where he says that many people continue to think that cartoons, the most violent hours on television, are not harmful, this is perhaps due to desensitization and to the confusion that kids' stuff is nothing to worry about.

However, NCTV has located 25 separate studies on cartoon violence. Of these, 24 of the studies clearly show trends of proven significant effect that this programing increases aggression and violence in children viewers.

I guess that is the problem that many of us have. I am not able in 5 minutes to address any broader question, but just to look at that question of children's programing, look at the subconscious effect that it has upon their development, upon their attitude toward the resolution of human conflict, and what becomes acceptable?

Again, Dr. Radecki speaking:

> There is a misconception that if the viewer enjoys a violent program, then the viewer is not affected.
>
> Programs in which the good guy teaches the bad guy a lession by using violence are often enjoyed by viewers. These programs cause somewhat less anxiety, but are actually likely to be more effective at getting the viewer to accept and use violence in his life.
>
> It is these programs that the networks are promoting in huge numbers at this moment.

That testimony is repeated by other witnesses who will appear before us later on this morning.

Mr. MOTTL. Mr. Markey, can they answer the question now?

Mr. MARKEY. Yes; that is my concern. That is the problem that I have.

Dr. Gerbner's study indicates a dramatic increase in that level of the incidence of violence.

I would like you to address that question.

Mr. **Wurtzel**. I would like to respond to two issues that you raised.

The first briefly is the issue of Hinckley and others like that. That is a pathology. They are very disturbed individuals. There are many, many reasons for that sort of violence that preceded long before television or books or writing or anything. I think that is an aberration.

There are so many variables in society that can contribute to violence exclusive of television. Poverty, socioeconomic status, and so forth that I think that is something that needs to be viewed outside the bounds of the general dialog that we are talking about.

What I would like to talk about——

Mr. **Markey**. That is where I would disagree with you. I think there is a clear cause and relationship between his seeing that. I think that incident is, if nothing else, is demonstrative of the subconscious effect that the viewing of a program can have upon the acting out by individuals even though it may be only—even though it may only be having an effect upon a condition that antedated the discovery of television.

What we are talking about here is an exaggeration, increase in that kind of conduct because of the exposure to programing and television.

Mr. **Wurtzel**. I recognize what you say, Congressman, except that an individual such as a Hinckley, a pathological individual, can find any rationale for any sort of act.

Whether he chose a movie or a television show or a book or a fictional character from a fairy tale is not really at issue here.

What I would like to address just very briefly is the notion of the research that Dr. Radecki and Dr. Gerbner——

Mr. **Mottl**. If you could sum up? We have to get the next panel out by noon. If you could sum up, we would appreciate it.

Mr. **Wurtzel**. Very briefly, this is the problem: When you deal in the notion of the effects of violence, what you are dealing with is a large body of research that is exceptionally technical and complex.

What happens is that quite frequently there is an attempt to boil down complex research studies into a two-page press release or into a brief paragraph in the consumer press. What that does is, it eliminates the various shades of grey that exist, and one rarely sees the very vigorous and spirited debate that is occurring in the academic research literature regarding many of the studies that have been mentioned by Dr. Gerbner, Dr. Radecki and others.

I think one of the key points one has to remember is the fact that if you are using research to create a conclusion that television is responsible for violence, then you are beholden to evaluate and analyze the research itself and what goes into that without subscribing completely to the result of the research, without looking at the methodology that went into it.

One other point is that the academic literature only accepts studies which prove something that the hypothesis was originally designed to address.

Therefore, when you start to do counts of particular articles, you are bound to find counts in which there may be a consistent view such as Dr. Radecki's suggesting that there is some sort of a correlation, but again there are two things you have to consider: One is the measurement of violence itself.

Second is the way in which the subjects were utilized. Finally, it is a consideration of the fact that there was a tremendous amount of complexity in the literature and a very spirited academic debate that is going on that unfortunately rarely arises in these sorts of forums or in the consumer press.

I think it eliminates many of the shades of grey that exist in the research literature.

Mr. Markey. If I may interrupt, because I know my time is out——

Mr. Mottl. Your time is up, Mr. Markey.

Mr. Tauzin. I will yield.

Mr. Markey. There is a certain principle in the law which is called res ipsa loquitur which is, the thing speaks for itself.

In 1974 there was an incident on television in which six young men doused a woman with gasoline and burned her. In the city of Boston the next day, after seeing it on television, the same thing happened.

Rod Sterling publicly apologized after——

Mr. Schneider. That is not true. There were several articles after the fact that showed they had not in fact seen that event.

Mr. Markey. That would be one of hundreds of incidents. I would just say there are many of us, regardless of what debate goes on in the academic society, that genuinely believe there is a casual relationship and that there is a very real responsibility upon the networks to exercise restraint and to understand that there is that kind of relationship that does exist.

Mr. Mottl. Mr. Tauzin, would you yield to Mr. Scheuer?

Mr. Tauzin. Sure.

Mr. Scheuer. Mr. Schneider, you mentioned before you have 1 minute of programing per hour on Saturday morning presenting good dietary habits to kids. Can you tell me how many minutes per hour you have of those 3-hour Saturday mornings on children's commercials, sugar candy, and sugared cereals? In other words, candy and sugared cereals?

Mr. Schneider. I can't give you those facts. I would be glad to supply them to you. There are 7½ minutes of commercial time that is presented and it varies based upon the season.

For example, during the Christmas season primarily toys are advertised.

Other times there are cereals. I know what you are reaching for. I believe there were hearings which did not show any definite correlation between sugared cereals and any ill or harmful effects upon children.

Mr. Scheuer. There are a lot of people who think instilling in kids lifetime habits of consuming sugared products, both cereals and candies, does more violence to their lifetime prospects than does violence per se on television.

I would very much appreciate information. Take some kind of median or some kind of average on how many minutes per hour you have of advertisements on sugared cereals and candy?

Mr. **Schneider**. Be glad to.

Mr. **Scheuer**. I would like that from all of the networks.

Mr. **Mottl**. We will have the record open for you to respond to that.

Mr. Tauzin?

Mr. **Tauzin**. I want to first of all associate myself with the comments of Mr. Scheuer regarding the fact that in our society, we are witnesses to violence all the time and that certainly literature depicting reality depicts violence also.

Like Mr. Scheuer, I also was a Shakespearian actor. I performed Hamlet at Harvard on the Bayou. Like Mr. Scheuer, I carried a weapon. In fact, in the duel with Laertes, the protective tip came off and I literally stabbed my professor in the side when I was supposed to kill my uncle, the king. That's true. I accept that.

However, I want to point out, like Mr. Markey, that whether the studies can be debated or not in reference to how much violence is an emulation of the violence witnessed on television or some other form of entertainment, res ipsa loquitur, the thing does speak for itself.

Just last week my little 3-year-old child watched a popular cartoon and watched Blutto beat his way through a glass pane. Immediately thereafter, he went outside and punched his way through the glass storm door of our house.

Admittedly, that was an act of aggression, not violence upon another person, but he almost bled to death because of the glass in his arm.

I want to tell you I almost had to be hospitalized for that little incident. Kids do emulate, kids do, I think, have some sort of reaction to what they see in the diet they get of violence.

My great concern is this: I understand hearings such as this, that letters and telegrams you get, the organizational complaint about violence, the—perhaps the studies that you read and discuss all help sensitize both people who produce programs, who program those programs themselves, or sensitize us perhaps as a society in regard to policing our own viewing habits and those of our children.

All of that is occurring. Perhaps maybe not enough of it is occurring to negate the positive Nielsen ratings that would encourage more of it on television perhaps.

What concerns me, however, is that whether you have emulation of violence occurring, I think what I have seen in my short lifetime is a growing insensitivity to violence in our society. People are not shocked any more by the shooting of a President like they might once have been.

They are alarmed by it, certainly concerned by it, but they weren't as shocked as they might have been.

We see so much of it, I think; and kids see so much of it that they are really not as concerned about violence and as sensitive to the victim of violence as they might otherwise be were it not such a common thing in their diet of experience.

I also share the view that that is a first amendment area. We have got to be very careful and government ought not to intervene. I share the view of Mr. Turner in his testimony that much of the policing against too much violence in our viewing diet must come from programers and producers and from the public and self-restraint.

I ask you generally, are you satisfied with the level of violence that is constantly portrayed? Are you satisfied that the networks themselves are sensitive enough to this growing insensitivity to violence in our society?

Mr. MATER. I don't think we are going to reach the point where we come down to zero. As I say, the material that we will submit shows that we have reduced the level of violence considerably.

I guess I could throw the question back, Mr. Tauzin: What is the appropriate level of violence on television? Does anybody really know? One of your next witnesses has badly asked for a 75-percent reduction.

Mr. TAUZIN. Yes.

Mr. MATER. I don't know what the 75 percent means. Why is 75 percent a magic number? Why isn't it 85 or 63 or 28? I don't know. I think it is arbitrary.

Mr. TAUZIN. Answer my question: Are you satisfied as representatives of the networks that you are doing enough to limit the amount of violence that enters our daily viewing diet?

Mr. MATER. I think we are acting very responsibly; yes, sir. I think we are. We are making, we have made a concerted effort. I think everyone did this in a directed way, starting about 1972. Just as the other two networks, we, too, have a panel of advisers on children's programing. We made a concerted effort not only to reduce the number of violent acts, but even the nature of the depiction itself so it isn't what it used to be.

Mr. TAUZIN. Could you each respond to that question?

Mr. MOTTL. Mr. Daniels, are you satisfied?

Mr. DANIELS. I don't think in this job, as long as I have it, I will ever be satisfied that we are doing enough; but in terms of the concept that we have of how to deal with it, I think we are taking the right approach.

We are—we had the consideration of affiliates, of the viewers, the audience reaction. We have the scholarly community to help us. I don't think they are satisfied. They have told us that they think there may be a causal relationship. Others have said not. The injury is out there.

We continue to be worried in the standards department that it may be; and on that basis, take the side of caution in making the judgments that we do. So sitting back on our hands or our laurels that is not the case.

Mr. MOTTL. Mr. Schneider, are you satisfied?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. I think the question is certainly rhetorical. No one is satisfied. I don't think that we can be satisfied until our society learns how to deal with poverty, with guns, and with the many factors that create juvenile problems and crime in this country, and younger people committing more crimes than ever before.

I am satisfied that we are attempting a responsible and good-faith effort to arrive at our part of the examination and our factor in the overall problems of violence in society.

Mr. MOTTL. Mr. Tauzin, thank you.

Mr. TAUZIN. Might I have one additional question, Mr. Chairman.

Of all of you again: Is it true—and I have heard it often alleged and somewhat agree with it—that you pay a great deal more attention in avoiding depiction of sexual acts and you are very careful about that, and very careful about getting anybody irate about what you might show in regard to any sort of crossing the line, in showing too much sex on television, except for General Hospital, perhaps. And not nearly as sensitive to restraining the depicting of violence?

Could you comment on that relationship?

Mr. MATER. I think your next witnesses are going to be somewhat divergent on that. One of them thinks we don't pay enough attention to the depiction of sex and the other thinks we don't pay enough attention to the depiction of violence. I don't know that we can separate the two.

When you look at a script, for example, we don't have one person reading it for sexual content and another for violence. We look at all aspects of the script.

Mr. MOTTL. Mr. Daniels?

Mr. DANIELS. I associate myself with Mr. Mater's remarks.

Mr. MOTTL. Mr. Schneider?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. I think we pay equal attention to both problems.

Mr. MOTTL. Thank you, Mr. Tauzin.

The gentleman from Washington?

Mr. SWIFT. First of all, my apologies for not being here during your testimony. I simply had to be somewhere else. It occurs to me every once in a while we create new words. I think we have a new word spelled "s-e-x-n-v-i-o-l-e-n-c-e." It's called "sexnviolence" and is all one word. It is good for us to be here talking about it. I am not sure what we do about it.

I am specifically not sure what we in Congress do about it. Certainly I can't think of any standards that we could establish that wouldn't virtually eliminate the last act of Hamlet. You know some directors have some of those killings take place offstage because with the number of bodies involved, you have to have some place for Hamlet to fall.

Really we are just sitting here not accomplishing very much unless this hearing leads to what in fact can be realistically done within the confines of the first amendment.

Let me ask you this king of a question: How do you, in your standards departments, determine between gratuitous violence and violence that is necessary for dramatic effect or to carry the story along? Is there a clear-cut, easily defined kind of standard you have that we could put into law and solve this problem?

Mr. DANIELS. I think the answer, Mr. Swift, is contained in your question: That is does pertain to the characteristics and develops the plot and isn't simply gratuitous, just thrown in for intrigue and shock effect.

Mr. **Swift**. Have you been able to write that in your own codes and standards in such a way that it is not ultimately a judgmental matter of people you hire to make that judgment?

Mr. **Daniels**. We write it into policy manuals describing the basic principle, but I think you then have to go to the judgment and experience of people who are making these evaluations day in and day out.

Mr. **Swift**. If we were to codify in Federal statute your standards, it would still require somebody making judgments?

Mr. **Daniels**. Somebody would have to read that script.

Mr. **Swift**. Presumably if we do that in Federal law, we have to establish a Federal judge to make those judgmental statements; is that correct?

Mr. **Daniels**. Yes.

Mr. **Schneider**. Yes.

Mr. **Swift**. I suppose you are the last group of people in the world that I should ask this of: But don't you really think people should make greater use of the off knob when there's material that they—what responsibility does the public have to protect itself and its family and its children from programs that they, those parents, in their individual judgment don't believe their kids should watch? Is there a responsibility there?

Mr. **Schneider**. Congressman Swift, I think about a year ago, ABC went through its entire nighttime schedule in which it asked that you watch together with your children and that a family ought to watch together.

I think one of the most positive social aspects of the kinds of things you are suggesting is a dialog within the home, raising the very questions about sensitivity, paranoia, fear, victimization, all the problems that the social scientists are raising; if there is a discussion within the home, maybe we can contribute to that and say you ought to talk about what you see a little bit, too, on television.

Mr. **Mater**. Mr. Swift, I think, too, there is tendency to look upon television as the third parent in the household. It isn't.

Mr. **Swift**. You are the fourth. The schools are the third.

Mr. **Mater**. I am not sure whether they are the third or the fourth. I think there is a great reliance, a great tendency to blame television for everything that is wrong in society. Every day another study seems to come out blaming us from everything starting with the weather up and down.

I agree with you, there is an on/off button. I think people should use it. The question of how much television is the right amount is a whole other issue. But where do the parents and the schools and the churches and peer groups relate to all of this?

This is one of the points I was trying to make in my prepared statement, that we are not alone, nor is the individual alone in the impact of other aspects of the environment, the school, the parents, the church, peer groups.

They impact at least as much; and we seem to look only to television. It is easy, because we are so pervasive. It is not new. We did the same thing with radio; we did the same thing with motion pictures. We blamed them the same way we blame television.

Mr. **Swift**. I don't want to appear sanguine. I think I have been quoted as saying Saturday morning is enough to turn your mind to clay. That's my judgment. That's a personal judgment. How we take that judgment and all the other programs on television I don't like—and I could give a whole list of those—how we go about developing policy that doesn't impose my judgment on 220 million people whose judgment may differ is the serious question I think we face when we raise the issue.

I do think it is useful to raise the issue. I think it is useful for us to talk about it. I think it is useful for the Government and private sector to understand, that it is a concern that I think is probably fairly high in the minds of most of my constituents. So the dialog is very useful. I think, we need very careful study if we think we can do something in law easily without any violation of the first amendment that is going to solve the problem. I don't think that kind of panacea exists.

Mr. MOTTL.Thank you, Mr. Swift. As we conclude this panel, one last question: It really bothers me. I heard Mr. Schneider and other panelists, Mr. Mater, Mr. Daniels, agree that you give equal attention to sex and violence. Isn't it essential we distinguish between violent programing and sexually oriented program or other programing viewers may find objectionable? With sexually oriented programing, which I find distasteful, I can turn the channel and thus shield myself and family from such programing.

However, with television violence, by flipping the channel, although I no longer have to view the programing, I am still vulnerable to falling victim to the violence or aggressive acts of those who did watch and are influenced by such programing.

Wouldn't you agree that this distinction is critical for one to draw?

Mr. DANIELS. Yes. I think, Mr. Mottl, physical endangerment is a primary concern. I don't know you can say stereotyping, language, sex, violence in that order or the reverse order are the priorities we set. I know primarily physicial endangerment, safety, and those are—especially with children. I think we all—and that is evident on the schedule of all three networks. That is a very primary concern.

Somebody can be injured as a result of this, or act out some piece of violence they see on television in an interpersonal act with somebody else.

Mr. MOTTL. I turn the channel, but my next-door neighbor might be watching it. That might influence me as far as me getting mugged or assaulted by the next-door neighbor.

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Schneider, I believe early on you said that you would provide the subcommittee with the book that you have there. May I see that please? Are you going to send us one like it?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. We will be glad to leave it with you this afternoon.

Mr. MOTTL. I would like to thank this distinguished panel for appearing here this morning with us. You did a fine job.

We will have our next panel. Our first witness among our distinguished members of the third panel will be Dr. George Gerbner, dean of the Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, who will publicly release for the first time "Violence Profile No. 12," which is the 12th in a series of annual releases which contain basic data and extensive indexes on televised violence. These are among the leading studies in the field of research.

We will also have with us Dr. David Pearl, chief of the Behavioral Sciences Research Branch of the National Institute of Mental Health, who will give us a preview of the comprehensive update conducted on the 1972 Surgeon General's Report on the effects of television violence.

Ms. Peggy Charren, president of Action for Children's Television [ACT], will speak on television violence and the lack of diversity in programing for children's viewing.

Rev. Donald Wildmon, who heads the very active Coalition for Better Television, will explain his views of the network's programing. Reverend Wildmon has been referred to as one of the most feared opponents of network programing and his actions have been felt in the networks' executive offices in New York.

Dr. Thomas Radecki is a psychiatrist who is chairperson of the National Coalition of Television Violence. Dr. Radecki has made substantial contributions of his personal funds to subsidize the coalition's efforts and he will cite a number of studies which correlate violence on television with aggressive behavior in society.

Did one of you have to leave? Dr. Gerbner, we welcome you this afternoon to this distinguished panel. We look forward to your statement. Your entire statements, incidentally, will be submitted into the record without objection. Hopefully you can summarize in a short period of time.

STATEMENTS OF GEORGE GERBNER, RESEARCHER, PHILADELPHIA, PA.; DAVID PEARL, PH. D., CHIEF, BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES RESEARCH BRANCH, NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH, PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES; PEGGY CHARREN, PRESIDENT, ACTION FOR CHILDREN'S TELEVISION; THOMAS RADECKI, M.D., CHAIRPERSON, NATIONAL COALITION ON TELEVISION VIOLENCE; AND REV. DONALD WILDMON, COALITION FOR BETTER TELEVISION

Mr. Gerbner. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am George Gerbner, professor of communications and dean of the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania.

I appreciate the opportunity to testify and share our research findings and views with your subcommittee, and am pleased to release today our "Violence Profile No. 12."

I appear in the capacity of an individual researcher and not as a representative of our school, university or any group or organization.

I would just like to summarize our findings and I will submit approximately 10 pages of testimony with tables and charts and an additional document that contains all the methodological detail that anyone would care to read, including the methodologies of the conduct of the study and the definitions to which reference was made earlier.

I would like to make three points:

First, I will summarize the conclusions of our project on television violence during the 1980-81 season.

Second, I will summarize our conclusions about viewer conceptions of social reality, that is what are the consequences of exposure over a long period of time to violence related to television.

Third, I would like to note the fundamental structural reason why basic program ingredients such as violence are so prevalent and so resistant to change. Every previous hearing has identified some of these, but none has led to alternatives.

Yet, without economically and politically viable alternatives, and despite all good intentions, going through the same motions every few years remains in my opinion an exercise in futility.

As to our findings: There has been a review of our long-running dialog with our colleagues at the networks about our definition of violence. Let me say our definitions are very similar. The difference is we apply the definition to any context, including humorous, without presuming that humorous violence is ineffective.

Indeed, the claim that it is somewhat disingenuous. When the networks construct their own messages like the interesting health messages on ABC programs, they use humor because they know that humor is an effective way to communicate. Humor can be the sugar coating on any pill.

Indeed, the overwhelming number of studies on the difference between the effectiveness of humorous and serious messages show that humorous messages are at least as effective, if not more effective, than so-called serious messages; and the argument is not so much whether it is humorous or serious, but what's the message.

What I would like to urge you to consider is that violence, as a scenario, as I will point out in a minute, has more than a single message. It has various messages, all of which can be subject to analysis and may be subject to concern.

As has already been stated, violence in weekend daytime children's programs, already the most violence on television, rose last year, on every measure and on all three major networks.

The most substantial rise was registered in the rate of violence incidents per hour. Weekend daytime programs bombard children with an average of over 25 violence acts per hour, up from 17 the year before, and well above the average rate in the 14 years of this project.

What used to be the family viewing hour—8-9 p.m. e.s.t.—is no longer a relatively low-violence zone. It became as violent as late evening 2 years ago, and rose again last year on two of the three networks. The third, CBS, reduced its prime time—but not weekend daytime—violence, accounting for the overall prime time mayhem remaining at the level of almost six violence acts per hour.

Despite these fluctuations, however, contrary to some of the claims made a short time ago, the overall violence index containing a great variety of violence representations remained relatively stable over the 14 years that we have studied it.

Our figures and data and tabulations will substantiate that. Weekend daytime children's programs have always been the most violent and they still are.

While the family hour was less violent during the mid-1970's, more violence was simply shifted to the late evening hours, balancing out the overall prime-time rate.

Now, violence is simply more evenly distributed in prime time, and it is very close to the 14-year average.

So the most impressive feature of the overall amount of violent representations on television is its resistance to change. Clearly cosmetic manipulations and casual admonitions or pressure yield only marginal and fleeting results. Violence is a social scenario and a dramatic ingredient that may be built into our system of television, perhaps other media, but more on television for reasons that I come to in a minute.

Before we can consider the changes that might be contemplated, we must ask first what violence means, how it functions. Too much of that has been taken for granted in much of the discussion that preceded our testimony.

Humans threaten to hurt or kill and actually do so—which is basically our definition of violence—mostly to scare, to terrorize, or otherwise impose their will upon others. Symbolic violence carries the same message. It is a show of force.

It is a demonstration of power. It is the quickest and clearest dramatic demonstration of who can get away with what and against whom.

Basically our opinion is that those are the lessons it teaches. Who can get away with what against whom; what kind of social types have a chance of coming out on top; what kind of social types have a greater risk in life; and indeed our study shows that many of these messages are conveyed to the viewers.

Television clearly did not invent violence. There is violence in Shakespeare, Sophocles, and the classics. Television took violence from the popular media and put it on the assembly line. By changing the selective and occasional exposure, print, plays, even movies into a seamless ritual, an everday environment, television has brought about the virtual immersion in violence into which our children are born, which is historically totally unprecedented.

In this violent environment with the stable patterns of power, the question of what are the lessons of violence take on an equally unprecedented urgency. Do viewers learn the lessons of violence and power? The evidence is now compelling that they do.

The recently completed comprehensive review of 10 years of scientific work which Dr. Pearl is going to relate to you provides convincing support for the original conclusion of the U.S. Surgeon General that there is a casual relationship between violence and aggression and the fact that this is disputed might be taken for granted just as the relationship between tobacco and cancer is still being disputed, the effects of pollution, and even of nuclear fallout are still being disputed because there are very high stakes and strong vested interest in disputing them.

To sum up our research on the consequences, they show the consequences of growing up and living in television's violent world are more complex and more far reaching that the instigation of an occasional act of violence, no matter how disruptive and tragic that might be.

Heavy viewers, according to our research have a greater sense of insecurity, a risk of being victimized, of apprehension than do light viewers in the same or in comparable age, sex, socioeconomic groups.

We find although there are group differences that are detailed in the full testimony—on the whole, the most general and prevalent association with television viewing is a heightened sense of living in a mean world of violence and danger, a corrosive sense of insecurity which I believe not only invites aggression, but invites repression. Fearful people are more dependent, more easily manipulated and controlled, more susceptible to deceptively simple, strong, tough measures and hard-line postures whether they are political or religious.

That, I think, is a deeper problem of violence on television.

There is no free marketplace in television in any sense of the word, and what I would like to recommend is that further hearings be held to explore the economic rationale, justification, even necessity for using as much of this cheap ingredient as the broadcasters can get away with.

I think further hearings are needed to examine the ways in which democratic countries around the world manage their television system. I think the subcommittee should recommend a mechanism that will finance a freer commercial system, one that can afford to present a fairer, more peaceful, and more democratic and more diversified world of television.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Testimony resumes on p. 171.]

[Mr. Gerbner's prepared statement follows:]

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE GERBNER BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON TELECOMMUNICATIONS, CONSUMER PROTECTION, AND FINANCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND COMMERCE, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D.C. - October 21, 1981

Mr. Chairman:

I am George Gerbner, Professor of Communications and Dean of the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communications. I appreciate the opportunity to testify and share our research findings and views with your subcommittee, and am pleased to release today our Violence Profile No. 12.

I appear in the capacity of an individual researcher and not as a representative of our School, University, or any group or organization. The research I am reporting comes from the ongoing project called Cultural Indicators designed to investigate since 1967 the nature of television programming and its relationships to viewer conceptions of social reality.

We have conducted the longest-running and so far still only continuous and cumulative research on what it means to grow up and live with television. The project has been supported by funds from the President's Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, the National Institute of Mental Health, the White House Office of Telecommunications Policy, The American Medical Association, the Administration on Aging, and the National Science Foundation. It is a team effort conducted by my colleagues Drs. Larry Gross, Michael Morgan, Nancy Signorielli and myself; I alone am responsible for the views expressed in this testimony.

In the limited time available I shall only sum up our findings and submit additional documentation for the record and the further information of those who may be interested.[1] These publications, issued in connection with Violence Profile No. 11, contain the methodological and conceptual detail supporting our research and the theory of "mainstreaming" to which I will refer.

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[1] "Violence Profile No. 11: Trends in Network Television Drama and Viewer Conceptions of Social Reality 1967-1979." George Gerbner, Larry Gross, Michael Morgan and Nancy Signorielli. Philadelphia, PA.: The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, April 1980.

"The 'Mainstreaming' of America: Violence Profile No. 11." George Gerbner, Larry Gross, Michael Morgan and Nancy Signorielli. *Journal of Communication*, Summer 1980.

First I will highlight the latest findings of our research on television violence during the 1980-81 season.

Second, I will summarize the conclusions of our project about viewer conceptions of relevant aspects of social reality.

Third I will note the fundamental structural reasons why basic program ingredients such as violence are so prevalent and resistant to change. Every previous hearing has identified some of these but none has led to alternatives. Yet without economically and politically viable alternatives, and despite all good intentions, going through the same motions every few years remains an exercise in futility.

Our measures of television violence are its prevalence on programs and among characters and its rate per program and per hour. These measures are combined into the Violence Index to facilitate comparisons over time and across networks and program types. The methodology of monitoring is explained in detail in the additional documents. The analysis is focused on clear-cut and unambiguous physical violence in any context. (Available evidence indicates that humorous and fantasy violence is at least as effective in demonstrating its social lessons as so-called realistic and serious violence.) The Violence Index meets the critical statistical and empirical requirements of an index. Nevertheless, all component indicators that make up the Index are also reported in the attached Tables 1 and 2.

And now the findings.

Violence in weekend daytime children's programs, already the most violent on television, rose last year on every measure and on all three major networks. The most substantial rise was registered in the rate of violent incidents per hour. Weekend daytime programs bombard children with an average of over 25 violent acts per hour, up from 17 the year before, and well above the average rate in the 14 years of this project.

What used to be the "family viewing hour" (8:00 - 9:00 p.m. EST) is no longer a relatively low-violence zone. It became as violent as late evening two years ago, and rose again last year on two of the three networks. The third, CBS, reduced its prime time (but not weekend daytime) violence, accounting for the overall prime time mayhem remaining at the level of almost six violent acts per hour.

Despite these fluctuations, however, the overall Violence Index remained relatively stable. Figures 1 and 2 show the trends since 1967. Weekend daytime children's programs have always been the most violent and they still are. While the "family viewing hour" was less violent through the 1970's, more violence shifted to the late evening, balancing out the overall prime time Index. Now violence is more evenly distributed in prime time, and close to the 14-year average.

The most impressive feature of the overall amount of violent representations on television is its resistance to change. Clearly, cosmetic manipulations and casual admonitions or pressure yield only marginal and fleeting results. Violence is a social scenario and dramatic ingredient that may be built into our system of television program production and that only structural adjustments can change.

Before we can meaningfully consider changes in the kind and amount of violence on the screen, we must first ask what violence means, how it functions, and why it is such a stable feature of our entertainment. That will bring us to the second part of our findings, viewer conceptions of social reality.

Humans threaten to hurt or kill, and actually do so, mostly to scare, terrorize, or otherwise impose their will upon others. Symbolic violence carries the same message. It is a show of force and demonstration of power. It is the quickest and clearest dramatic demonstration of who can get away with what against whom.

On the whole, television tends to favor majority-type characters and to uphold the social order against illegitimate transgression. TV violence depicts these transgressions presumably not to subvert but, on the contrary, to cultivate the norms of the social order. For example, our research shows that when women and minority types encounter violence on television, they are more likely to end up as victims than are the majority types.

Violence is thus a scenario of social relationships. It has implicit lessons for those who may wish to exert power by physical force and for those who may be its victims. The real questions that must be asked are not just how much violence there is and why, but also how fair, how just, how necessary, how effective, and at what price.

Television took violence from other popular media and put it on the assembly line. Video mayhem pervades the typical American home where the set is on an average of six and a half hours a day. Violence strikes at the rate of almost six times per hour in prime time and 25 times an hour during weekend daytime children's programming. By changing the selective occasional exposure into a daily ritual, television has brought about a virtual immersion in violence that is historically unprecedented. In this violence-saturated symbolic environment, with its stable pattern of power, the questions about the lessons of violence take on an equally unprecedented urgency.

Do viewers learn the lessons of violence and power? The evidence is now compelling that they do. The recently completed comprehensive review of ten years of scientific work provides convincing support for the original conclusion of the U.S. Surgeon General that there is a causal relationship between violence and aggression.

Our own research shows that the consequences of growing up and living in television's violent world are more complex and even more far-reaching than the instigation of an occasional act of violence, no matter how disruptive and tragic that may be.

Violence as a scenario requires the appropriate setting and cast of characters. The setting is what we call "mean world." In it most characters feel insecure and fear victimization while some are also willing or compelled to oblige them by acting violent and thus confirming the fears of many.

Heavy viewers are most likely to express the feeling of living in that self-reinforcing cycle of the "mean world". Our analysis of large scale surveys (reported in detail and tabulated in the additional documents submitted) indicates how the cycle works. Responses to questions about chances of encountering violence, safety of neighborhoods, fear of crime,etc., have been combined into an Index of Images of Violence. Table 3 and Figure 3 show that heavy viewers in every education, age, income, sex, newspaper reading and neighborhood category express a greater sense of insecurity and apprehension than do light viewers in the same groups. (Previous results also showed that heavy viewers are more likely to acquire new locks, watchdogs and guns "for protection.")

The data show sizeable group differences, reflecting inequalities of risk and power. Even though most heavy viewers feel more at risk than light viewers, the most vulnerable to the "mean world" syndrome are women, older people, those with lower education and income, those who do not read newspapers regularly, and those who live in large cities.

However, on some questions some groups respond differently. Television viewing may blur some distinctions and bring groups closer together into what we call the television "mainstream." Viewing may also leave some groups relatively unaffected while making others extremely responsive to the television image.

Figure 4 shows the "mainstreaming" implications of viewing. Those who live in suburbs and non-metropolitan areas are so convinced that "crime is rising" that television adds little or nothing to that perception. But those who live in cities (small and large) express an equally near-unanimous belief in the rising crime rate only if they are heavy viewers.

Similarly, high and medium income (but not low income) respondents overestimate their chances of becoming involved in violence if they are heavy viewers. The more affluent heavy viewers share the violent "mainstream" with all lower income respondents.

Figure 5 depicts the association between television, images of violence in large cities, and race and class. Among whites living in large cities there is little if any relationship for high income respondents, and a slight relationship for low income respondents. Among blacks living in large cities there is an inverse relationship: high income blacks feel relatively secure as light viewers but much less so as heavy viewers. Low income blacks, on the other hand, feel most insecure if they are light viewers, and exhibit less insecurity when heavy viewers. High and low income city blacks join in the television "mainstream" from opposite directions.

Figure 6 shows that fear of crime is a most serious personal problem for nonwhites, and that television, despite its prevalence of violence, again seems to be associated with less rather than more fear among nonwhite respondents. Whites, however, fear crime much more as heavy than as light viewers. Again, whites and nonwhites blend into the television "mainstream" from opposite directions.

Expressions of fear by residence alone show that while suburban heavy viewers fear crime more than their light viewing counterparts, it is big city heavy viewers who respond most (what we call "resonate") to television's violence message.

These group differences illustrate the complex interplay of demographic and real world factors and television viewing. They show that for some groups, like big city blacks, the real world may appear even more violent than the world of television; at least, viewing tends to moderate their apprehension. Others feel highly insecure regardless of viewing. Still others live in an environment that seems relatively safe for those who do not watch much television, but extremely dangerous for those who do; heavy viewers seem to "resonate" to the television message. On the whole, the most general and prevalent association with television viewing is a heightened sense of living in a "mean world" of violence and danger.

I believe that a corrosive sense of insecurity and mistrust invites not only aggression but also repression. Fearful people are more dependent, more easily manipulated and controlled, more susceptible to deceptively simple, strong, tough measures and hard-line postures--both political and religious. They may accept and even welcome repression if it promises to relieve their insecurities. That is the deeper problem of violence-laden television.

In recent years we have gone beyond violence in our study of the dynamics of living with television. We have investigated the images and the cultivation of conceptions of sex roles and minorities, aging, occupations, educational achievement and aspirations, science and scientists, family, sex, and health and medicine. We are currently at work on the analysis of the association of television viewing with political position-taking and viewers' political tendencies. We find that heavy viewers say they are "moderate" but their views tend to be conservative on social and populist on economic issues.

Our studies and the research of other investigators suggest that television presents a relatively stable world of characters and actions. It is a world that is resistant to substantial and lasting change because it works so well for the institutions producing it, even if not necessarily for society as a whole, and because television is relatively insulated both from the ballot box and the box office.

Under the law television is a publicly licensed trustee of the airways, operating in the "public interest, convenience, and necessity." In fact, however, it is a private business producing audiences for sale to advertisers.

The basic formula that guides program production is "cost per thousand." The less costly the program and higher the rating the more profitable the enterprise. But ratings are no indicators of real popularity. They only show which of the programs *aired at the same time* attract more viewers. As viewers watch mostly by the clock rather than by the program, the total audience at any one time is relatively stable. So although there is keen competition, it is with the same type of appeal for the same market.

The market for television production is not free in any sense of the word. A handful of production companies create the bulk of the programs and sell them to broadcasters, not viewers. The cheapest and least offensive programming is the most profitable. Violence becomes a cheap industrial ingredient in a formula-ridden, narrowly conceived and rigid production system.

The system operates on a lucrative but restrictive basis of advertising moneys. The law that makes these advertising expenditures a tax-deductable business expense is the economic foundation of the television industry. The cost of advertising is included in the price products we buy. Unlike other business costs, but like taxation (without representation, to be sure), the cost must be paid by all whether or not they use the service. According to the annual financial report compiled by Broadcasting magazine (August 10, 1981, pp. 50-52), the television levy per household in 1980 ranged from about $90 in Atlanta to $29 in Wilkes-Barre--Scranton, Pa. In my city of Philadelphia it was $59.36. That is what the average Philadelphia household paid for television, included in the price of products they bought, whether or not they watched. Net revenues for the television industry totaled $8.8 billion, pre-tax profits 1.6 billion.

The only way to reduce violence and, more importantly, the price we pay for its inequities as well as for its saturation of the life space of every television generation, is to allocate these and perhaps even additional resources to that end. In other words, it is to extend the economic support for a broader view of the social and cultural mission of television. Such a move would not infringe on First Amendment rights. On the contrary, it would extend the First Amendment's prohibition of abridgement of the cultural marketplace to also cover corporate restrictions of control, purpose, and function.

Clearly, such institutional adjustments will take time and study, as well as determined effort. The last Subcommittee hearing that proposed investigation of the structure of the television industry ran into fierce private pressure. The staff member assisting with the original draft was fired and the final majority report was watered down to the usual platitudes. Those who would want to move television toward a more open system should know what they are up against.

Nevertheless, the effort is in the long-run interest of the industry as well as of our society. The rigid imperatives of television production will have to give way to a freer marketplace of ideas, problems, conflicts, and their resolutions. Freedom, time, and talent are needed to create a greater diversity of human scenarios and thus reduce violence to its more legitimate and equitable dramatic functions. The resource base for television will have to be broadened to liberate the institution from total dependance on advertising monies, purposes, and ratings.

Further hearings are needed to examine the ways in which democratic countries around the world manage their television systems. The subcommitee should recommend a mechanism that will finance a freer commercial system, one that can afford to present a fairer, more peaceful, and more democratic world of television. The mechanism should also help protect creative professionals from both governmental and corporate dictation. Only then will TV's professionals be free to produce the diversified and entertaining dramatic fare they know how to produce but cannot under existing constraints and controls.

Table 1

Violence Index Components
(1967 - 1980-1)

	67,68[1]	69,70[1]	71,72[1]	73,74[2]	1975[2]	1976	1977[3]	1978	1979	1980[4] - 81	Total
All Programs N =	183	232	203	291	226	110	192	111	126	130	1804
% Programs w/violence	81.4	80.6	79.8	78.0	77.4	89.1	75.5	84.7	81.0	85.4	80.4
Rate per program	6.8	4.9	5.0	5.4	5.2	6.2	5.0	5.8	5.0	5.7	5.2
Rate per hour	7.2	8.1	7.2	6.9	7.7	9.5	6.7	8.3	8.1	10.0	7.7
% Characters involved in violence	69.5	65.1	59.8	61.4	64.2	74.8	60.9	64.8	62.7	67.3	64.2
Violence Index	190	178	174	175	177	204	166	183	174	187	179
Weekend-Daytime N =	62	107	81	114	92	49	53	48	62	68	736
% Programs w/violence	93.5	97.2	88.9	93.9	90.2	100.0	90.6	97.9	91.9	97.1	93.9
Rate per program	5.2	6.5	6.0	5.6	5.1	6.9	4.9	7.5	4.6	6.0	5.8
Rate per hour	22.3	25.5	16.0	12.6	14.2	22.4	15.6	25.0	17.2	25.4	18.2
% Characters involved in violence	84.3	89.7	73.5	73.8	81.1	85.6	77.2	86.0	74.8	87.6	80.4
Violence Index	242	253	208	205	211	247	209	249	210	249	224
Prime-Time N =	121	125	122	177	134	61	139	63	64	62	1068
% Programs w/violence	75.2	66.4	73.8	67.8	68.7	80.3	69.8	76.6	70.3	72.6	71.1
Rate per program	4.5	3.5	4.6	5.2	5.3	5.6	5.0	4.5	5.4	5.4	4.8
Rate per hour	5.2	3.9	4.8	5.3	6.0	6.1	5.5	4.5	5.7	5.8	5.2
% Characters involved in violence	66.4	49.4	53.9	53.7	55.0	67.4	55.5	52.9	53.7	52.0	55.3
Violence Index	176	140	159	159	160	183	154	153	153	152	158
8-9 P.M. EST N =	74	73	55	86	61	25	65	27	31	28	525
% Programs w/violence	77.0	60.3	74.5	60.5	52.5	72.0	66.2	59.3	71.0	71.4	65.7
Rate per program	4.9	2.8	4.2	4.0	2.7	3.8	4.2	3.0	5.6	5.6	4.0
Rate per hour	6.4	3.9	4.8	4.3	4.1	4.7	5.3	4.0	6.3	6.5	4.9
% Characters involved in violence	66.3	46.1	50.0	44.2	37.0	55.1	53.2	39.2	53.1	52.4	49.4
Violence Index	186	127	150	134	104	165	140	116	156	153	141
9-11 P.M. EST N =	47	52	67	91	73	36	74	36	33	34	543
% Programs w/violence	72.3	75.0	73.1	74.7	82.2	86.1	73.0	86.1	69.7	73.5	76.2
Rate per program	4.0	4.3	4.5	6.4	7.6	6.9	5.8	5.6	5.2	5.2	5.7
Rate per hour	3.8	3.9	4.8	6.1	6.9	6.8	5.7	4.8	5.2	5.3	5.4
% Characters involved in violence	61.5	54.2	57.1	62.5	68.4	75.7	57.1	62.5	54.1	51.7	60.7
Violence Index	162	158	167	183	203	209	165	180	150	150	176

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[1] These figures are based upon two samples collected in the fall of each of these years.

[2] The figures for 1973-74 include a spring 1975 sample and those for 1975 include a spring 1976 sample.

[3] The Fall 1977 sample consists of two weeks of prime-time and one weekend-morning sample of network dramatic programs.

[4] These figures are based upon a one-week sample collected in the spring of 1981.

Table 2

Violence Index Components
for 1979 and 1980-1* by Network

	All Networks		ABC		CBS		NBC	
	1979	1980-1	1979	1980-1	1979	1980-1	1979	1980-1
All Programs N =	126	130	34	43	56	51	36	36
% Programs w/violence	81.0	85.4	70.6	81.4	87.5	84.3	80.6	91.7
Rate per program	5.0	5.7	4.4	5.7	5.1	5.5	5.4	5.9
Rate per hour	8.1	10.0	6.4	10.4	9.9	10.6	7.7	9.1
% Characters involved in violence	62.7	67.2	52.2	64.9	69.1	68.5	64.7	69.4
Violence Index	176	187	165	180	190	188	179	196
Weekend-Daytime N =	62	68	11	20	32	30	19	18
% Programs w/violence	91.9	97.1	90.9	100.0	93.8	96.7	89.5	94.4
Rate per program	4.6	6.0	6.5	6.7	4.8	6.7	3.1	4.2
Rate per hour	17.2	25.4	15.8	30.7	23.7	27.7	10.5	16.7
% Characters involved in violence	76.8	87.6	87.5	90.0	73.4	80.0	69.2	74.4
Violence Index	210	249	223	273	224	256	186	213
Prime-Time N =	64	62	23	23	24	21	17	18
% Programs w/violence	70.3	72.6	60.9	65.2	79.2	66.7	70.6	88.9
Rate per program	5.4	5.4	3.5	5.0	5.4	3.9	7.9	7.7
Rate per hour	5.7	5.8	4.2	5.9	5.9	4.2	6.9	7.3
% Characters involved in violence	53.7	52.0	38.3	47.4	64.4	47.9	60.9	65.5
Violence Index	153	152	116	138	173	135	175	192
8-9 P.M. EST N =	31	28	13	11	11	10	7	7
% Programs w/violence	71.0	71.4	61.5	63.6	81.8	60.0	71.4	100.0
Rate per program	5.6	5.6	3.5	5.8	5.5	3.9	9.6	7.6
Rate per hour	6.3	6.5	4.6	7.2	6.8	4.2	7.7	8.8
% Characters involved in violence	53.1	52.4	35.9	49.0	59.4	44.1	72.0	72.7
Violence Index	156	153	116	141	172	129	198	210
9-11 P.M. EST N =	33	34	10	12	13	11	10	11
% Programs w/violence	69.7	73.5	60.0	66.7	76.9	72.7	70.0	81.8
Rate per program	5.2	5.2	3.4	4.2	5.2	3.8	6.8	7.8
Rate per hour	5.2	5.3	3.8	4.8	5.2	4.2	6.2	6.6
% Characters involved in violence	54.1	51.7	40.5	65.8	68.3	51.4	53.8	60.6
Violence Index	150	150	115	135	176	160	160	180

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*These figures are based upon a one-week sample collected in the spring of 1981.

Table 3

Components of Images of Violence Index

	Percent Overestimating Chances of Involvement in Violence			Percent Agreeing that Women are More likely to be Victims Of Crime			Percent Saying Their Neighborhoods are Only Somewhat Safe or not Safe at all			Percent Saying that Fear of Crime Is a very Serious Problem			Percent Agreeing that Crime is Rising		
	Percent Light Viewers[2]	CD[3]	gamma	Percent Light Viewers[2]	CD[3]	gamma	Percent Light Viewers[2]	CD[3]	gamma	Percent Light Viewers[2]	CD[3]	gamma	Percent Light Viewers[2]	CD[3]	gamma
Overall	71	+10	.14***	72	+10	.18***	35	+11	.10***	30	+9	.12***	94	+6	.30***
controlling for:															
Age															
18-29	74	+16	.28***	73	+6	.11**	49	+11	.09**	16	+11	.21***	93	+6	.27***
30-54	68	+9	.11**	70	+10	.18***	53	+12	.09***	17	+11	.12***	95	+3	.27**
over 55	71	+6	.07*	77	+10	.22***	65	+9	.06*	31	.+1	-.01	96	+6	.38***
Education															
No College	76	+7	.13***	70	+12	.20***	58	+10	.07***	34	+8	.11***	96	+3	.28***
Some College	63	+9	.10*	76	+7	.06	49	+9	.07*	13	+6	.09*	91	+5	.22**
Newspaper Reading															
Sometimes	73	+14	.23***	70	+15	.36***	38	+17	.10***	23	+11	.14***	96	+6	.27***
Everyday	69	+7	.10***	74	+17	.13***	33	+8	.09***	14	+8	.11***	95	+6	.34***
Race															
White	69	+10	.13***	73	+9	.17***	33	+10	.09***	17	+10	.14***	94	+6	.29***
Non-White	86	+7	.23**	70	+12	.21**	72	+16	.09*	44	-4	-.07	95	+6	.37**
Urban Proximity															
City over 250,000	66	+10	.13**	77	0	-.00	71	+14	.19***	26	+10	.19***	88	+10	.33***
City under 250,000	74	+3	.05	64	+26	.42***	59	+6	.06	23	+5	.09*	89	.11	.37***
Suburban	67	+13	.18***	75	.10	.19***	50	+13	.13***	19	+10	.12***	96	+2	.13
Non-Metropolitan	77	+6	.13**	70	+9	.17***	31	+7	.01	18	+2	.06**	98	0	.10
Income															
under $10,000	86	0	.06	67	+18	.32***	61	+14	.10***	35	-2	-.00	94	+6	.31***
$10,000 - $25,000	68	+6	.12***	74	+6	.12***	55	+6	.06	16	+9	.14***	93	+5	.35***
over $25,000	62	+18	.13**	76	0	-.03	69	+1	-.01	10	+16	.11**	96	-1	-.13
Sex															
Male	68	+8	.09**	66	+10	.20***	38	+16	.16***	21	+6	.07**	98	+2	.07
Female	78	+8	.13***	78	+6	.16***	73	+1	-.01	20	+12	.14***	96	+5	.33***

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[1] "On the average weekday, about how many hours do you personally watch television?"
Light: under 2 hours
Medium: 2 - 4 hours
Heavy: over 4 hours

[2] Percent Light Viewers = percent of light viewers giving the "Television Answer"

[3] CD = Cultivation Differential; percent of heavy viewers minus the percent of light viewers giving the "Television Answer"

* p ≤ .05 (tau)

** p ≤ .01 (tau)

*** p ≤ .001 (tau)

Data Source: Opinion Research Corporation

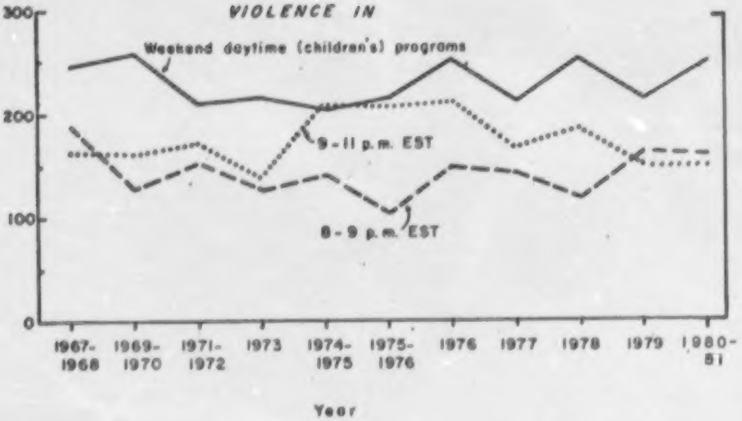


FIGURE I: VIOLENCE INDEX IN CHILDREN'S AND PRIME TIME PROGRAMING, 1967-1980

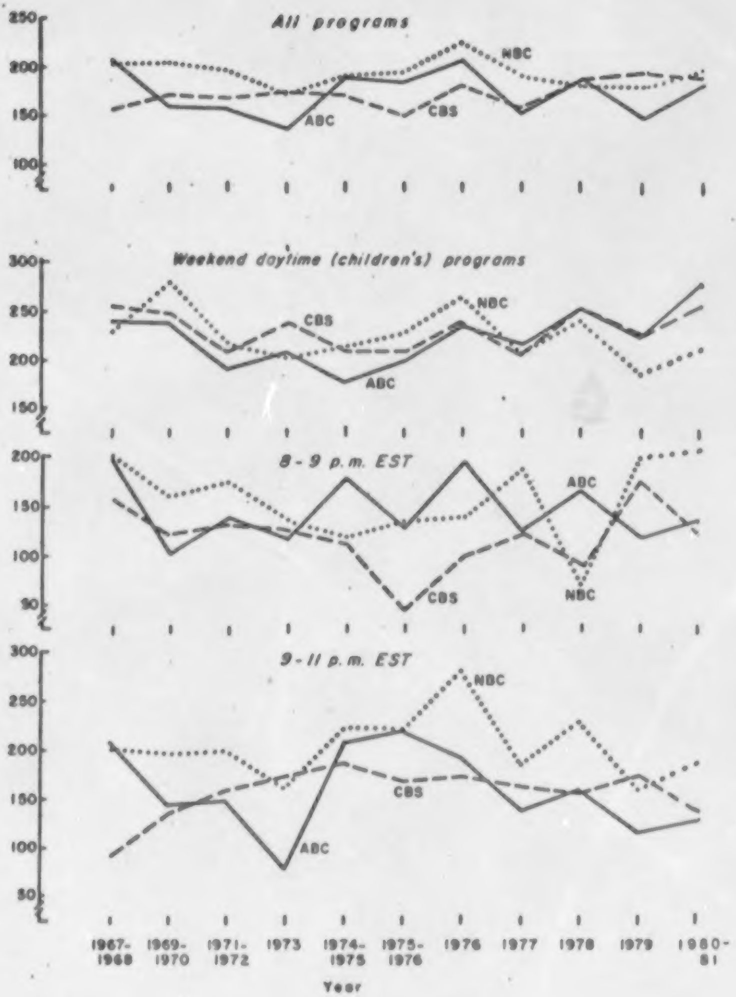


FIGURE 2: VIOLENCE INDEX BY NETWORK AND PROGRAM TIME
1967 - 1980

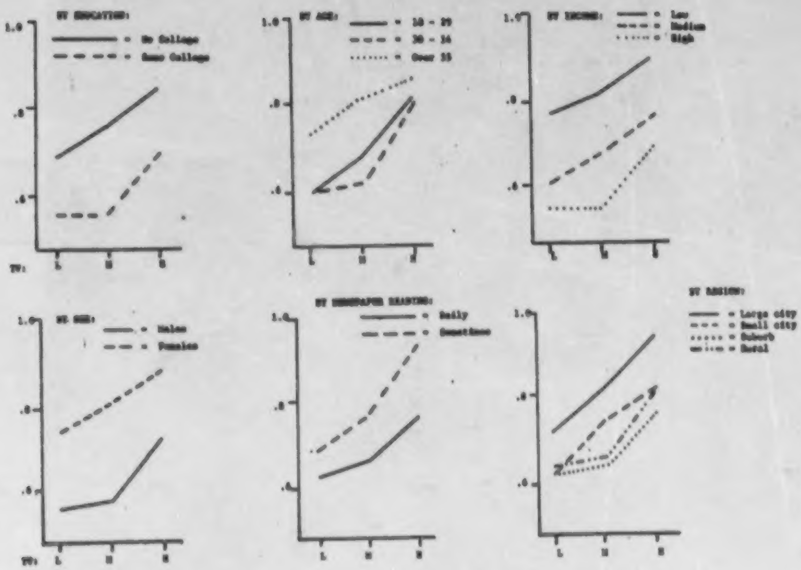
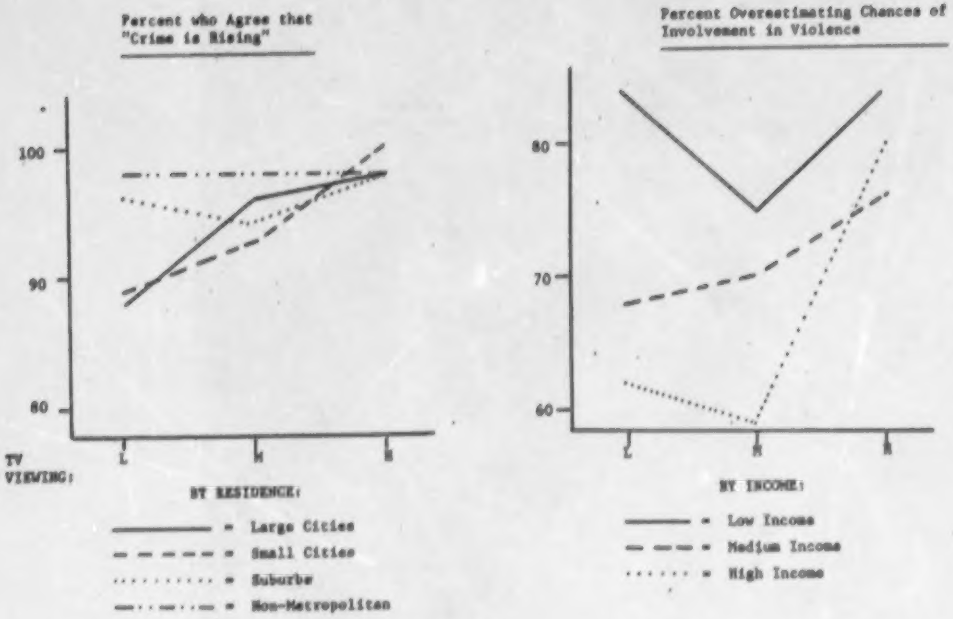


Figure 3

Relationship between Amount of Television Viewing and an Index of Images of Violence, within Major Demographic Subgroups


Percent who Agree that "Crime is Rising"

Percent Overestimating Chances of Involvement in Violence

Figure 4

Examples of "Mainstreaming"

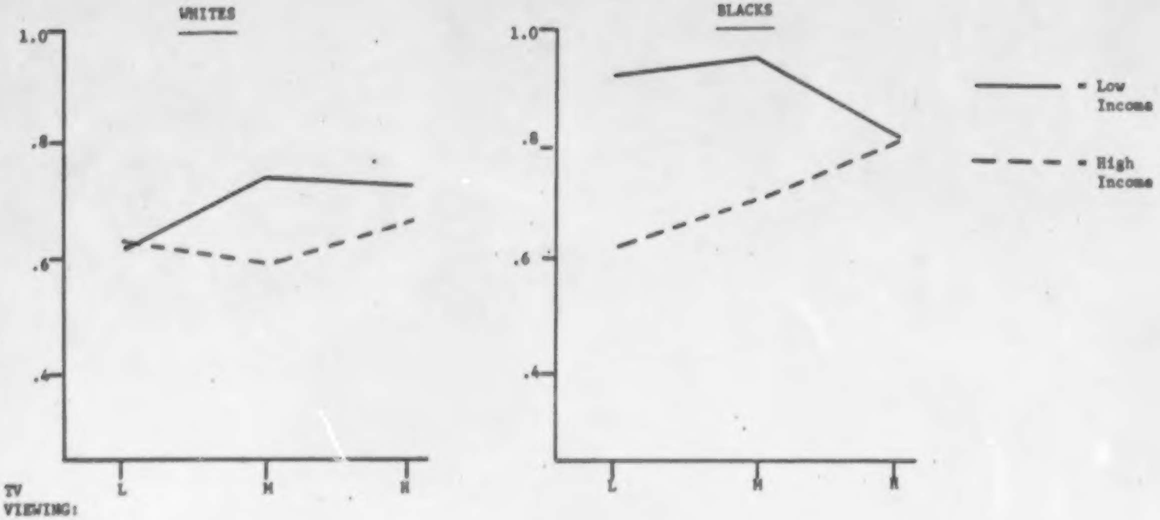


Figure 3

Relationship between Amount of Television Viewing and an Index of Images of Violence, for Residents of Large Cities, and by Race and Income

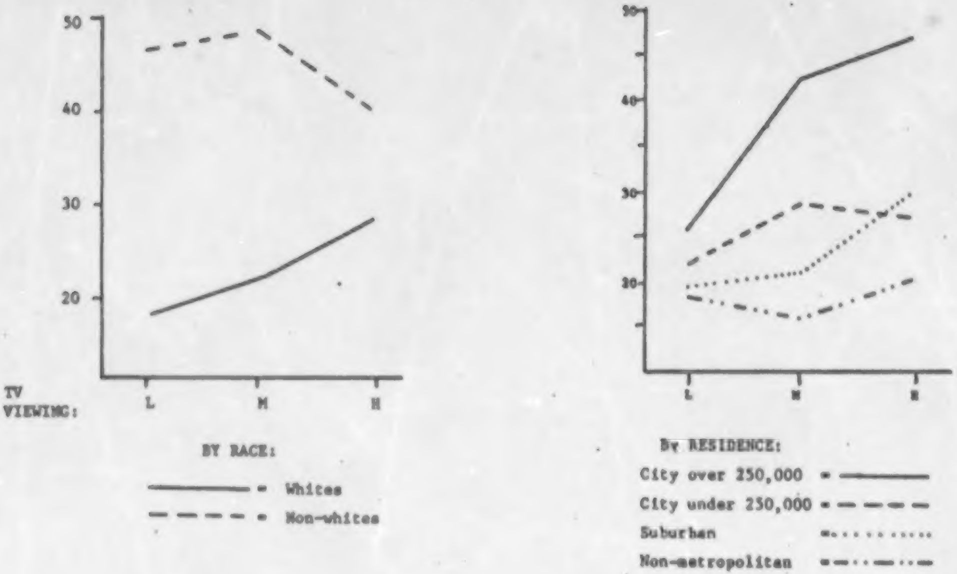


Figure 6

Percent of Respondents who Feel that "Fear of Crime is a Very Serious Personal Problem," by Amount of Television Viewing, Controlling for Race and Residence

Mr. MOTTL. Next is Dr. David Pearl, chief of the Behavioral Sciences Research Branch of the National Institute of Mental Health. Dr. Pearl.

STATEMENT OF DAVID PEARL, PH. D.

Dr. PEARL. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, the National Institute of Mental Health research's mission is to increase knowledge regarding factors and processes which underlie mental and behavioral disorders or which contribute to mental health.

Studies of the development, determinants, and maintenance of behavior have been one major aspect of the NIMH research programs.

For this reason, the Institute was selected to provide the setting and staff during the 1969–71 period when the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior functioned and published its well-known report. This assessed the relationship of television watching and aggressive and violent behaviors of viewers.

Following that report in 1972, the Institute was given the lead responsibility within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, now the Department of Health and Human Services, for further research on television's behavioral influences.

The Institute since then has supported a number of key studies on media behavioral influences judged through peer review as being scientifically meritorious.

The 1972 report of the Surgeon General's Committee confirmed the pervasiveness of television. It focused on aggressiveness and violent behaviors. Its major conclusion was that there was fairly substantial experimental evidence for a short-run causation of aggression among some children viewing televised violence and less evidence from field studies regarding long-term causal effects.

Since then, a large number of studies regarding media influence have been conducted on a broad range of behavioral topics. Researchers suggested in mid-1979 to the then Surgeon General, Dr. Julius Richmond, that it would be worthwhile to collect, review, and synthesize this expanded knowledge and determine its import.

The Surgeon General agreed and encouraged the National Institute of Mental Health to undertake the project. The project was initiated in November 1979.

I have directed it and have been aided by a small, distinguished group of consultants who include child development investigators, behavioral scientists, mental health experts, and communication media researchers.

Comprehensive and critical evaluations of the scientific literature on numerous aspects of TV's behavioral influences were commissioned from leading researchers. The update project group then assessed and integrated these contributions as well as additional pertinent data.

These assessments of the current state of knowledge are incorporated in an update report which is about to go to press.

The unanimous consensus of the update team is that there is a general learning effect from television viewing which is important in the development and functioning of many viewers.

The learning of aggressive behavior is one aspect of this. The group agreed that the convergence of findings from a large body of literature, on balance, support the inference of a causal relationship between televised violence and later aggressive behavior.

The conclusions reached in the 1972 Surgeon General's report thus has been strengthened by the more recent research. The update group concluded, too, that television's influences or effects on aggressive behaviors are not attributed solely to its programmatic content, but may, in part, be due also to the structure or form of the medium.

These include such aspects as program pace, action level, and camera effects which may stimulate higher physiological and emotional arousal levels in the viewer and thus, a greater readiness to respond aggressively under appropriate instigation or cues.

The majority of both experimental and the more naturalistic field studies indicate that there is a significant positive correlation between television viewing and aggressive behaviors.

These lines of evidence are mutually supportive. Two compilations which aggregated reported studies indicate the overwhelming evidence for a positive relationship. Most behavioral scientists agree in this regard.

Early studies suggested that it was a preference for action programs involving violence which was causally linked to later aggressiveness. More recent research, however, has pointed to the critical relationship between the extent of television viewing of violent programing and aggressive behavior rather than to the attitudinal preference for such programs.

Thus, persons who are heavy viewers of such programs can be influenced even though they do not have an a priori preference for violent portrayals. Beyond any consideration of television's influence on acting out behaviors, there is a further question regarding the possible impact of television viewing on viewer emotionality and fearfulness.

There is considerable research evidence that TV is influential in the learning of behaviors other than aggression and in the shaping of viewer knowledge and attitudes.

As one aspect, some viewers may learn to identify with portrayed victims. The violence profiles issued yearly by Gerbner and his colleagues have indicated that a disproportionate percentage of TV-portrayed victims are the powerless or have-not individuals in our society, including older citizens.

Viewers, then, may experience fear and apprehension on the basis of identification or perceived similarity to such victims. Dr. Gerbner has found generally that heavy viewers tend to over estimate the amount of violence and danger facing them and to view the world as a mean and scary place.

Surveys typically indicate that older viewers are heavy users of television. Television programing which exacerbates expectations of violence and trauma thus could be considered as having such unwanted effects as heightening anxiety and increasing the fear of being away from the home. With a growing number of elderly in our population, such effects increasingly will demand attention.

I might also mention there is the question of desensitization of viewers, particularly those who are heavy viewers of television.

They may, in time, come to accept the incidence of acting out as the norm in our society. There is some question about that. The research evidence there is not yet as definitive as it is in the acting-out area, I believe.

I have to conclude with a caveat. The caveat is in order regarding the linkage between television viewing and subsequent violent or aggressive behaviors. Not all such behaviors in the real world relate to or are caused exclusively by viewing. The causes of behavior are complex and determined by multiple factors.

The viewing of televised violence is only one in a constellation of factors involved in behavioral expression. Under some circumstances, television may exert little or no easily discernible influencing of behaviors.

But with other conditions, it may play a significant role in shaping behavioral style or how violence or aggressiveness get expressed. It also may function as a trigger or releasing mechanism for overt behaviors which otherwise might be inhibited.

[Testimony resumes on p. 188.]

[Dr. Pearl's prepared statement follows:]

October 1981

STATEMENT TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES SUBCOMMITTEE ON TELECOMMUNICATIONS REGARDING TELEVISION VIEWING AND VIOLENT OR AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIORS

by Dr. David Pearl
National Institute of Mental Health

I am a psychologist and as Chief of the Behavioral Sciences Research Branch at the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) for the past decade, I have been serving as a health science administrator.

The Institute's research mission is to increase knowledge regarding factors and processes which underlie mental and behavioral disorders or contribute to mental health. Studies of the development, determinants and maintenance of behavior have been one major aspect of the NIMH programs. Within this context, the Institute over the years has supported research on television's behavioral, psychological and psychosocial influences and their mental health aspects. The Institute provided the setting and staff during the 1969-1971 period when the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior functioned and published its well-known report (1). This assessed the relationship of television watching and aggressive and violent behaviors of viewers.

Following that report in 1972, the NIMH was also given the lead responsibility within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), now the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS), for further research on television's behavioral influences. The Institute since then has provided research grant funding for various studies of media influences judged through peer review as being scientifically meritorious.

The 1972 report of the Surgeon General's Committee confirmed the pervasiveness of television. It focused on aggressiveness and violent behaviors. Its major conclusion with unanimous concurrence by its members was: "Thus, there is a convergence of the fairly substantial, experimental evidence for a short-run causation of aggression among some children by viewing violence on the screen and much less certain evidence from field studies that extensive violence-viewing precedes some long-run manifestations of aggressive behavior. The convergence of the two types of evidence constitute some preliminary indication of a causal relationship, but a good deal of research remains to be done before one can have confidence in these conclusions." (1)

Largely as a result of the efforts of the Surgeon General's Committee and the publication of its report, many behavioral scientists were attracted to the study of a wide range of the medium's possible effects and influences. Some who had been commissioned by the Committee to conduct specific studies expanded their research. Others who were persuaded that television had become a major socializing agency in the development and functioning of children also turned their attention to investigating effects and how these were occurring. Approximately 90 percent of all publications of research on television can be said to have appeared in the last decade - over 2,500 titles.

Because of this outpouring of research on a broad range of behavioral topics, it was suggested in mid-1979 to the then Surgeon General, Dr. Julius Richmond, that it would be worthwhile to collect, review, and synthesize this knowledge and determine its import. After consultation with a small group of researchers on television's behavioral influences, the Surgeon General encouraged the National Institute of Mental Health to undertake the project. The project itself was initiated in November 1979. I have directed the project since then, aided by a colleague, Ms. Joyce Lazar, and by a small group of consultants. The seven consultants are distinguished child development investigators, behavioral scientists, mental health experts, and communication media researchers. These consultants and key NIMH staff have served as the core of the update project.

Comprehensive and critical evaluations of the scientific literature of the past decade on numerous aspects of television's behavioral influences and effects were commissioned from leading researchers, including one report on an unpublished panel study by National Broadcasting Company social scientists which centered on the topic of the medium and aggressive and violent behavioral effects. The update project group, in turn, assessed and integrated these contributions as well as additional pertinent date. The various studies which had been reported were evaluated for their rigor and scientific merit. After extensive discussions, this group agreed as to the current state of knowledge and its import. These assessments are incorporated in an update report which is to be published later. This covers television's health-promoting possibilities and such aspects as: cognitive and emotional influences; violence and aggression; prosocial behavior, creativity, and fantasy; socialization and conceptions of social reality; television and the family, and educational achievement and critical viewing skills.

The unanimous consensus of the update team was that there is a general learning effect from television viewing which is important in the development and functioning of many viewers. As one facet, the group agreed that the convergence of findings from a large body of literature, on balance, support the inference of a causal relationship between televised violence and later aggressive behavior. The conclusions reached in the 1972 Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee Report thus has been strengthened by the more recent research, and the processes by which aggressive behavior is produced have been examined further. The group also concluded that television's influences or effects on aggressive behaviors are not attributable solely to its programmatic content but may, in part, be due also to the structure or form of the medium. These include such aspects as program pace, action level, and camera effects which may stimulate higher physiological and emotional arousal levels in the viewer and thus, a greater readiness to respond aggressively under appropriate instigation or cues.

The reliability of results from basic laboratory studies generally are well established and provide more readily acceptable causal inferences than data obtained outside the laboratory. They also provide some indications as to those viewing circumstances under which television violence is most likely to influence behavior. Thus they indicate that aggressive behaviors are more likely to be influenced and expressed when the television depicted aggression or violence: pays off, is not punished, is shown in a justifying context, is socially acceptable, appears realistic rather than fictitious, appears motivated by a deliberate intent to injure, is expressed under conditions or cues similar to those experienced by the viewer in his own environment or involves a perpetrator who is similar to the viewer.

Laboratory studies have come under some questioning as to their generalizability to real life aggression and violence. Field studies, on the other hand, are more naturalistic and realistic though they are less precise and less interpretable regarding causal relationships. The majority of observational or experimental field studies and surveys indicate that there is a significant positive correlation between television viewing and aggressive behaviors. The strength of this relationship differs between such field studies on the basis of differences in samples and procedures for assessing both viewing and aggressive behaviors. One can conclude therefore that there is a body of experimental and field findings which coalesce and are mutually supportive in a broad sense. Two compilations which aggregated reported studies (2,3) involving as many as up to 100,000 persons as subjects, summarize the overwhelming evidence for a positive relationship. Most behavioral scientists involved in relevant research agree in this regard.

Several of the earlier studies, prior to 1972, reported data indicating that it was a preference for television action programs involving violence which was causally linked to later aggressiveness. More recent research however has pointed to the critical relationship between the extent of television viewing of violent programming and aggressive behavior rather than to the attitudinal preference for such programs. Thus, persons who are heavy viewers of such programs can be influenced even though they do not have an a priori preference for violent portrayals. Also, recent research in the United States as well as in Poland and Finland (4) have indicated that this positive linkage held for primary school girls as well as for boys, contrary to earlier findings of a relationship applicable only for boys. The linkage also holds for the entire childhood spectrum, having been reported for study samples ranging from preschool through adolescent ages.

Beyond any consideration of the medium's influence on acting-out behaviors, there is a further question regarding the possible impact of violent or aggressive television programming on viewer fearfulness. There is considerable research evidence that television also is influential in the learning of behaviors other than aggression and in the shaping of viewer knowledge and attitudes. As one aspect, some viewers may learn to identify with portrayed victims. The violence profiles issued yearly by Gerbner and his colleagues (5,6,7,8,9,10) have indicated that a disproportionate percentage of television-portrayed victims are the powerless or have-not individuals in our society, including older citizens. Viewers then, may experience fear and apprehension on the basis of identification or perceived similarity to such victims. Gerbner has found generally that heavy viewers particularly, as contrasted to light viewers, tend to overestimate the amount of violence and danger facing them and to view the world as a mean and scary place (11). To the extent that this is a valid finding, it should have particular pertinence for older viewers. Surveys typically indicate that older persons are heavy users of television for entertainment, as time markers, and for contact with what is going on in the world. This, in large measure, is due to their decreased physical mobility and to their often restricted incomes. Crime statistics reveal that there is a realistic basis for anxiety concerning possible victimization for large numbers of older citizens in cities, many living marginally. Television programming which exacerbates expectations of violence and trauma thus could be considered as having such unwanted mental effects as heightening anxiety and increasing the fear of being away from one's home. With a growing number of elderly in our population, such effects increasingly will demand attention.

Desensitization to violence has been suggested as another possible effect of the heavy viewing of televised violence. Such viewers presumably would learn gradually to accept a higher level of violent behavior as being the norm. Two studies have been reported which are pertinent to this possibility. Cline (12) has found that boys who regularly watched violent programs showed less psychophysiological arousal (as measured by skin resistance and by blood-volume tracings) when they looked at new violent programs. Drabman and Thomas (13) determined children's willingness to intervene when younger children were perceived as unruly and assaultive in an adjacent room. Children who had viewed aggressive television content were found to wait significantly longer to intervene until presumably serious physical injury was occurring in contrast to children who did not view such programming.

It needs to be said that while these two studies are suggestive of habituation and desensitization, more verification is required at this time.

A number of field studies of the last decade deserve special attention. The longitudinal study reported by Lefkowitz, et al (14) in 1972 was a key study leading to the Surgeon General's Committee conclusions. It found that preferences of eight-year-old children for watching television violence assessed in 1960 contributed to the development of aggressive habits as measured ten years later when subjects were 18 years old.

Singer and Singer (15) in two short-term longitudinal studies followed middle-class and lower-socioeconomic-class three- and four-year-olds and assessed both their television viewing and behavior at four different times. Multivariate analyses led the researchers to conclude in both studies that watching violence on television was a cause of heightened aggressiveness.

McCarthy and colleagues in 1975 (16) came to the same conclusion as a result of a five-year longitudinal study of 732 children. Several kinds of aggressive behaviors, including conflict with parents, fighting, and delinquency proved positively associated with amount of television viewing.

Greenberg in 1975 (17) found correlations between violence viewing and aggressive behaviors in a sample of London school children to be very similar to those reported for American children.

In a recent Canadian study reported by Joy, Kimball and Zabrack in 1977 (18) aggressive behaviors of primary school children in a small community were assessed before and after television was introduced. These data were compared with that for children of two other towns which already had access to television.

Increases in both verbal and physical aggression occurred after television was introduced and was significantly greater here than in the two comparison communities.

Eron and Huesmann (4) collected longitudinal data on 758 first and third graders on the relation of television violence-viewing and peer-nominated aggression. Similar cross-cultural data on 220 Finnish children and on 237 Polish children were collected by their collaborators. Eron and Huesmann's analyses revealed that the frequency or amount of violence-viewing as measured from the children's self-reports correlated significantly with aggressive behaviors. This held for girls as well as for boys.

Adolescents were the subjects of a study reported by Hartnagel, Teevan, and McIntyre 19). In this, they found a significant though low correlation between violence-viewing and aggressive behaviors.

A noteworthy research project by Belson (20,21) supported bv the Columbia Broadcasting Company concerned 1650 teenage boys, 13-16 years of age. These boys were evaluated for violent behavior, attitudes, sociocultural background, and exposure to television violence. After being divided into two groups on the basis of amount of exposure to televised violence, the lighter and heavier exposees were equated on the basis of a sizeable number of personal characteristics and background variables. The results strongly supported Belson's hypothesis that long-term exposure increased the degree to which boys engage in serious violent behaviors such as burglary, destruction of property, infliction of personal injuries, attempted rape, etc. Belson reports that boys with heavy exposure to televised violence were 47 percent more likely than boys with light exposure to commit the above acts, and were eleven percent more likely to commit violent acts in general. The reverse hypothesis that violent boys were more likely to watch violent television programs was tested and did not hold up. Belson also reports that the viewing of certain program types seemed more likely than others to lead to serious behavioral offenses. These included programs involving physical or visual violence in close personal relationships, programs with gratuitous violence not germane to the plot, realistic fictional violence, violence in a good cause, and violent westerns. He also found that a considerable part of any increase in violence due to TV viewing was apt to be "...unplanned, unskilled and spontaneous in character. It is almost as if the boys tend, through heavy exposure to television violence, to let go whatever violent tendencies are in them." (21)

In contrast, Milavsky and his colleagues at the National Broadcasting Company came to a different conclusion as a result of a prospective panel study which is to be published shortly (22). The project's results were considered in the update group's considerations. This study wished to determine whether there were real-life, long-term effects of television aggression and involved intensive analyses of a large amount of information. The data was collected at several points of time over a three-year-period for 2400 elementary school children and [illegible] 800 teenaged high school boys in two cities. The elementary school children gave peer nominations of aggression and the teenagers gave self-reports. Both groups reported the television programs watched, and these then were classified by the investigators on the basis of violence.

The results obtained through the use of a recently developed model for causal analysis (LISREL IV computer program) showed that there were small positive correlations between viewing measures and aggressive behavior taken at the same point in time. The investigators see these data as consistent with the experimental literature which has been primarily concerned with short-term arousal and modeling effects. Their data thus do not contradict the existence of short-term effects. They point out however, that findings for long-term effects were negative. They conclude that short-term effects do not cumulate and produce stable patterns of aggressive behavior in the real world. They state that "This study did not find evidence that television violence was causally implicated in the development of aggressive behavior patterns among children and adolescents over the time periods studied." (22)

A recent field experiment reported by Parke, et al (23) involved three studies of adolescent males in minimum security institutions in the United States and Belgium. These juveniles were selectively exposed to five viewing days of either violent or neutral control films. In both countries, those who saw the more violent films were characterized as acting more aggressively during the five days. There was some tendency for the boys who initially were somewhat more aggressive to show the greatest increase in aggression.

A caveat is in order as I conclude this sampling of important research studies. Empirical support for the linkage between the viewing of televised violence and subsequent violent or aggressive behaviors does not mean of course, that all such behaviors in the real world relate to or are caused exclusively by television viewing. The causes of behavior are complex and determined by multiple factors. The viewing of televised violence is only one in a constellation of determinants involved in behavioral expression. Certainly, under some psychological, social, or environmental circumstances, television may exert little or no easily discernible influencing of behaviors. But with other conditions, it may play a significant role in shaping behavioral style or how violence or aggressiveness get expressed. It also may function as a triggering or releasing mechanism for overt behaviors which otherwise might be inhibited.

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Mr. MOTTL. Next is Ms. Peggy Charren, president of Action for Children's Television, who will speak on televised violence and the lack of diversity in children's programing.

STATEMENT OF PEGGY CHARREN

Ms. CHARREN. I am Peggy Charren, president of Action for Children's Television. I would like to thank the subcommittee for the opportunity to testify today and for focusing on the important issues of children's television and for staying around to hear me.

ACT is a national grassroots organization working to encourage diversity in children's programing and eliminate commercial abuses from children's television. ACT was begun in 1968 by a group of parents, teachers, physicians and media professionals who were brought together by a common concern for children and how they are affected by what they see on television.

There are two threshold issues related to our concerns about television violence: The pervasiveness of television and the nature of the child audience. More than 98 percent of all American homes have one or more television sets; the average child spends 25 to 30 hours every week watching television. By the time a child graduates from high school, he or she will have spent, on average, 15,000 hours watching television and only 11,000 hours in the classroom.

In addition, we know that children's perceptions of the world are shaped by what they see on television. Young children, who are among the most avid and vulnerable of television audiences, lack the sophistication and maturity to distinguish fantasy from reality and to draw inferences about motivation and consequences.

It is only with an awareness and understanding of the role television plays in the lives of children that we can begin to address the problems it raises.

In order to engage the audience, regardless of age, television programing uses excitement, tension, and, frequently, violence. ACT believes there is no malevolence or conspiracy involved in the prevalence of violence on television—only an overriding concern with ratings and dollars. It is precisely the relationship of gratuitous violence, the pervasiveness of the medium, and the nature of the young audience that concerns us today.

For 13 years, ACT's strategy to change and improve children's television has been to advocate: (1) increased age-specific programing, (2) scheduling of children's programs throughout the week, and (3) increased diversity in such programing.

While we present annual awards to particularly creative new children's programs, ACT has never labeled programs as the "best," the "worst," the "most objectionable," or even the "most violent."

ACT has over and over again disagreed with this approach to television reform, because we do not want to become television's inspector general. Because of our strong belief in the importance of program choice, ACT has opposed the Moral Majority-backed Coalition for Better Television and has encouraged others to speak out against this organization's efforts to control television.

ACT believes that the Coalition seeks to limit viewing options by developing TV program "hit lists" and using other forms of censorship.

The foundation of a free society is an informed citizenry, and we rely on the free speech guarantees of the first amendment to insure the free flow of information.

Thus the qualifications placed on the first amendment are extremely narrow and limited. In the context of broadcasting, free speech has two dimensions: The right of the citizens to hear diverse and controversial viewpoints, and the right of broadcasters to communicate, free from censorship and Government constraint.

We believe these first-amendment issues are paramount, even with regard to television violence. Censorship is anathema to Congress, to broadcasters, to ACT, and to the public interest, if not to Ted Turner.

However, the first amendment is not a barrier to eliminating deceptive commercial speech, nor to promoting diversity and choice in children's programing.

Let me stress that ACT's emphasis, unlike that of other TV reform groups that express a concern for children, is on children's television. The great majority of TV reform organizations fail to make the distinction between the TV seen by children and the TV designed for children.

Children watch a great deal of television that is not designed for them, largely because there is so little children's television programing provided by broadcasters, especially on weekdays.

A study of weekday television programing for children was commissioned by ACT and completed last month by Prof. F. Earle Barcus of Boston University. The Barcus report shows that there is very little regularly scheduled weekday programing for children on commercial television: 29 percent of 588 stations reported to the FCC that they aired no regularly scheduled programs for children between the hours of 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. on weekdays, and 62 percent of the stations reported carrying no regularly scheduled afterschool programs for children between 2 p.m. and 6 p.m.

"Captain Kangaroo" was the only regularly scheduled network program designed for young people, and it represented almost 30 percent of all weekday commercial programing for children. It should be noted that last month CBS cut "Captain Kangaroo" from 1 hour to 30 minutes, which has reduced the amount of regularly scheduled children's programing even further.

ACT's policy of promoting TV choice for children is based on the important assumption that young children can and will be engaged, stimulated, and excited by television programs geared to their special needs and interests.

The Barcus report demonstrates that there are extremely limited viewing options for children. Therefore, at least one major reason why children are seeing adult programs, including those that feature violence, is that there is very little else on television for them to watch.

ACT believes that the key question this hearing should address is how to make responsible change in television without regulation of program content and without censorship.

There is no single strategy that constitutes the "right way" to change television. ACT supports a great many approaches to the problem of how to improve children's television viewing experience, and none of them involves censorship.

Among the nongovernmental strategies we encourage are research on how television viewing affects children, industry self-regulation, and parental responsibility for children's viewing time and program choices.

But these strategies, although important, are not enough. In order to affect what children see on television without controlling program content, ACT maintains that it is essential to provide program diversity.

This can only be achieved through governmental and congressional involvement.

Specifically, we recommend:

One, Congress should continue to exercise its oversight responsibility in the area of telecommunications and should recommend to the Federal Communications Commission that it adopt guidelines for children's television programing.

These guidelines should address the amount of programing designed for children, not its content. We maintain that the expansion of viewing options designed specifically for children is the best answer to concerns about the effect of televised violence on children.

Two, Congress should support increased funding of public television, which provides a noncommercial alternative and increases program diversity for children.

Three, Congress should encourage the enforcement of the Equal Employment Opportunities Act to bring more minorities and women into decisionmaking positions in the television industry, which in turn will help increase program diversity.

Four, Congress should support the development of alternative technologies, such as cable television, videodisc, and low-power television, which can also increase program choices for children.

Five, Congress should encourage the FCC to retain those policies and rules that promote public accountability and diversity of opinion, such as ascertainment requirements, financial disclosure requirements, limited license terms, and diversity of ownership.

Six, Congress should support mechanisms such as the Fairness Doctrine that promote vigorous debate of controversial issues.

Seven, finally, it is essential that Congress retain the statutory requirement that broadcasters operate in the public interest.

ACT believes that improving children's experiences with television is the joint responsibility of television providers—for example broadcasters, cable operators, videodisc manufacturers—Government officials, and television viewers.

Unless all three of these groups exercise their rights and carry out their responsibilities, television will be no more than, at best, a moneymaking leisure machine and, at worst, a tool for propaganda.

Working jointly—albeit on opposite sides of many fences—the television providers, Government, and viewers can bring the medium closest to operating in the public interest.

From the television provider's point of view, operating in the public interest means providing a wider choice of programing for preschool, schoolage, and young adolescent viewers.

It also means not airing promos for R-rated movies in the middle of early morning cartoon shows. It means not airing deceptive advertising targeted to young children.

Broadcaster responsibility means providing enough information in TV guides to help parents decide what programs their children should or shouldn't see; it may mean prefacing potentially disturbing programing with warnings. But does not mean making every program on television fit for the eyes of a 5-year-old or even a 13-year-old.

That would not be serving the adult public, and it would not even be serving children, because children deserve programs especially designed for them and them alone.

Only the combined efforts of parents, broadcasters, and the Government can insure that children are offered the programing they deserve.

We would like to thank this subcommittee for the opportunity to testify today, and for focusing on the important issues of children's television. It is only with an awareness and understanding of the role that television plays in the lives of children that we can begin to address the problems it raises.

[Attachments to Ms. Charren's prepared statement follow:]

SUMMARY OF

WEEKDAY, DAYTIME COMMERCIAL TELEVISION PROGRAMMING FOR CHILDREN

by F. Earle Barcus, Ph.D.
Professor of Communications Research
Boston University

September, 1981

This study examined information about program service for children submitted by 588 commercial television stations to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) as part of their license renewal applications. The primary purpose of the study was to determine the amount of regularly scheduled commercial children's programming aired on weekdays between the hours of 6:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m.

This study did not attempt to define "children's programs." All programs listed as such in license renewal exhibits were included in this study.

The major findings of the study are:

REGULARLY SCHEDULED WEEKDAY PROGRAMMING FOR CHILDREN

1. A per week total of 2478 weekday hours of regularly scheduled children's programming was reported. The average was 4.21 hours per week per station - approximately 50 minutes per day.
2. Approximately 30% of all regularly scheduled programming was network-originated, the remainder being recorded, syndicated, or locally originated.
3. 29% of the stations reported no regularly scheduled children's programs between 6:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m.
4. 45% of the stations reported no regularly scheduled children's programs between 6:00 a.m. and 2:00 p.m.
5. 62% of the stations reported no regularly scheduled children's programs between 2:00 p.m. and 6:00 p.m.
6. Approximately 70% of network-affiliated stations reported no regularly scheduled children's programs between 2:00 p.m. and 6:00 p.m.
7. "Captain Kangaroo" (CBS):
    - "Captain Kangaroo" was the only regularly scheduled network program.
    - "Captain Kangaroo" represented 29% of all regularly scheduled program hours reported by all stations.
    - "Captain Kangaroo" represented 43% of all regularly scheduled program hours reported by network affiliates.
    - "Captain Kangaroo" represented 48% of all regularly scheduled program hours between 6:00 a.m. and 2:00 p.m. on all stations.
    - "Captain Kangaroo" represented 71% of all regularly scheduled program hours reported by CBS-affiliated stations.
8. 90% of CBS-affiliated stations carried one or more hours per day of regularly scheduled children's programming; less than 20% of ABC- and NBC-affiliated stations did so.
9. Independent stations (representing 13% of the total number of stations) provided 32% of all regularly scheduled program hours reported.

New Views on TV Viewing

Believe It or Not!

The average American family watches more than six and a half hours of television a day.

Children watch an average of 27 hours of TV each week or almost four hours each day.

By the time they are 18, most children will have spent more time watching TV than in school.

Advertisers spend over $600 million a year selling to children on television.

Children see about 20,000 30-second commercials each year or about three hours of TV advertising each week.

Most of the programs children watch were made for adults.

Over a million young children are still watching TV at midnight.

Did You Ever Stop to Think That . . .

Over half of the TV ads directed to children are for highly sugared foods, but none of these ads tell children that sugar can cause cavities.

Children's TV programs could be aired as a public service, without advertising, supported by broadcasters' profits from other shows.

Women and minority characters on TV rarely take leadership roles.

For children, all television educates, and sometimes it teaches that violence is the solution to most problems and that most problems can be solved in 30 minutes.

Children need many things television doesn't provide: love, exercise, creative play, involvement with other children, a chance to get acquainted with books.

Look At It Another Way

Don't just turn on television. Turn on a program . . . and turn off the set when the program is over.

Help your children choose the programs they watch, and watch with them when you can.

Use the programs you and your children watch as a jumping-off point for family discussions. For example, if a show deals with a conflict between parent and child, discuss how your family might handle the problem.

Set a limit on the amount of TV your children watch. When you are at work or out in the evenings, tell the babysitter how to handle TV viewing.

Check the schedule on your public TV station for creative non-commercial alternatives for your family.

When you don't like what TV is teaching, turn it off. Remember, you control the set.

Turn Off the Tube and React

Ask your children to list all the foods advertised on children's television and then to list all the foods they think they should eat to be healthy. Compare the two lists.

Have your children make up a commercial for their favorite fruit or vegetable and act it out.

List all the kinds of programs you and your children would like to see. Think of books that would make good dramas, hobbies you would like to learn about, careers you could explore. Compare your lists to the local TV schedule.

Spend a part of each day doing something special with your family, like reading aloud, playing a board game, or baking cookies.

Call the community relations department at a local TV station and arrange for your family to watch a program being made.

Let people know what you think of children's television. You and your children can write a family letter to ABC, NBC, CBS, PBS, local TV stations, local cable operators, toy manufacturers, cereal companies, candy makers, the FTC, the FCC, your Senator, your mayor, your newspaper, and ACT.

Form a local TV action group. You and some friends can discuss children's television programs, meet with local broadcasters, plan parent-teacher talks, and organize community support for increasing children's TV choices.

Putting Cable to Work for You

By 1985, it is likely that one-third of all families will have cable television.

Cable can provide more than 50 channels to choose from. That means entire channels can be devoted to sports, or black news, or children's programs.

Cable can offer public access to TV channels, so children and adults can learn to make programs for their communities.

If your town doesn't yet have cable television, let your town councilors know that you want to be involved in the cable franchising process.

Work to ensure that your town's cable contract calls for a variety of children's programming produced nationally, locally, and by young people in your community and shown without commercials.

Ask your local cable company for a schedule describing all its programs and a lockout device to block out certain channels. Then you can plan and control your family viewing.

Did You Know?

Parents are not the only ones with a responsibility to the child audience.

Broadcasters have a legal responsibility to serve the public, including children.

Elected officials have a responsibility to make sure that the cable company serving their community offers special services to children.

Teachers have a responsibility to help children learn how to watch TV critically.

Doctors and dentists have a responsibility to let parents know what aspects of children's television are damaging to a child's health.

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) has a responsibility to make sure that broadcasters serve the child audience.

The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) has a responsibility to ensure that TV advertising is not deceptive.

ACT is responsible for helping to improve children's TV viewing experiences. For more information, write to ACT TV TIME CHART, 46 Austin Street, Newtonville, MA 02160.

Mr. MOTTL. Next we will hear from Dr. Thomas Radecki.

STATEMENT OF THOMAS RADECKI, M.D.

Dr. RADECKI. Thank you, Mr. Mottl, members of the committee. Right now our Nation is suffering from a violence epidemic that is worse than at any time in recorded American history. Since, 1957, rates of murder, rape, assault, robbery and burglary have soared—increasing from 300 to 600 percent depending on the category.

In spite of this tremendous increase, new records of violence continue to be set almost every year.

The most rapidly growing causes of death in the past two decades in our country have been from homicide, suicide, and alcohol abuse.

There are specific reasons for this violence epidemic. It is clear that there are multiple causes, but that the exact percentages of causation of each are not known. Certainly, the large increases in alcohol consumption since the 1950's plays an important role.

Increases in durg abuse have caused a smaller proportion of this increase, both due to the direct effects of drugs such as PCP, amphetamines, and downers, and due to the violent climate that surrounds the trafficking in and purchasing of illegal substances. Family breakdown plays a role as may the less than ideal functioning of other social institutions.

However, research shows that the most likely, No. 1 cause of this increase in violence is the massive amounts of violent entertainment being sold to the American public.

Television is the No. 1 news, advertising and socializing influence in our society. Americans will see many times more violence on TV than from all other sources combined.

I can comfortably estimate that 25–50 percent of the violence in our society is coming from the culture of violence being taught by our entertainment media, most strongly by the television and movie industries. This estimate is based on solid research findings

For instance, Dr. William Belson of the London School of Economics completed a $300,000 study, funded by CBS, of 1,600 London adolescents. He looked at 227 possible causes of violence in their lives.

He found that the amounts of TV violence consumed accounted for at least 12 percent of the variance in the amount of violence committed. He also found that film and comic book violence were responsible for violence to lesser degrees.

Dr. Leonard Eron and Dr. Monroe Lefkowitz of the University of Illinois Department of Psychology completed their 10-year followup study of American adolescents and found a similar percentage of the effect coming from the amount of TV violence seen. A cause-effect relationship was clearly demonstrated.

A study of middle-class adult males completed by Dr. Roderick Gorney of UCLA found a 37-percent decrease in hurtful behavior around the home during a single week when violent programming was eliminated from the viewing diet.

In 67 studies reviewed by Dr. Scott Andison in 1976, more than three-fourth of them found increased violence or aggression due to violent programs. The average effect in these studies was a 25-percent higher level of violent or aggressive behavior.

Many other studies point to increases in fear, depression, cheating, willingness to rape; all of these studies necessarily underestimate the impact entertainment violence is having.

This is because these studies look at only the direct effects and not the indirect effects. There are several dozen studies showing adults are affected. Advertising affects adults. Why can't violence sales affect adults. Adults are affected 37 percent in Dr. Gorney's study.

So parents become more violent. Also, there is good research evidence to show that children learn a lot of their behavior, including violence, from their parents. Thus, by increasing parental use of aggression and because their children learn from their model, television indirectly teaches children to turn more readily to violence. The same indirect patterns hold for peers, et cetera.

Scientific studies show an overwhelming agreement that TV and media violence is having a serious and harmful effect on society. This research shows that all social classes, ethnic backgrounds, age groups, both sexes, and various education backgrounds are adversely affected by the huge quantities of entertainment violence sold to us.

There is a myth that only a small percentage of viewers are affected. In study after study, this has been disproven. It is clear that, especially when the massive amounts consumed are considered, the majority of all viewers are adversely influenced. This myth exists due to desensitization, a lack of knowledge of available information, and to the massive promotion of violence through advertising.

Indeed, I would go so far as to say that probably no one who sees the large amounts of TV violence typical of American TV can escape at least some harmful influence.

In the area of sexual violence NCTV has found 33 studies, almost all since the last governmental hearings. These show that nonviolent erotic films and material do not increase rape but that frequent sexual violence and violence found in both hard-core and soft-core pornography, definitely increase the acceptance of and interest in committing sexual violence for the typical American or Canadian adult male.

I would like to announce some recent research findings. We recently studied Canadian television and found that Canadian television has 75 percent less violence than our own American networks. This actually means that Canadian television has already reached our goal of a 75-percent decrease.

It is the American networks that are pushing violence, not only in this country, but worldwide through extensive distribution of violent programs.

Studies show that the amount of violence on television actually exceeds reality by 200-fold. That's not 200 percent, that's 200-fold—20,000 percent more violence on network television and even worse on Saturday morning or movie channels.

Recently television violence has not gone down on network TV in the slightest, but has started to increase on television in the average home due to the effect of cable television.

HBO and other movie channels are 200 to 300 percent more violent than the networks.

Because of this, this committee has to be concerned about movies. The number of violent exploitation movies released this year has jumped by 50 percent over the previous record. That's according to movie sources themselves.

The previous record was set last year. These are already making their way onto cable and network television and these films further increase the television and real-life violence that we are likely to see here in the future.

I can assure you we are going to have more violence this year and next year than in the past in our country. The Motion Picture Association of America makes a joke of their movie rating system. NCTV has found that the MPAA gives PG and R movie ratings to movies of identical violence levels.

The only differentiating factors for MPAA is sex, language, and gruesomeness. Amazingly, the least violent of the MPAA movie categories is the X-rating which is used to keep children and adolescents out of movies.

Apparently, no amount or intensity of violence is bad enough not to serve to the youth of our Nation. In addition, the MPAA will not allow theaters to publish the reason specific ratings are given. Thus, prosocial, nonviolent movies like "Ordinary People," and "Kramer vs. Kramer" are given the same rating as the "Texas Chainsaw Massacre" and "Friday the Thirteenth" with no additional information.

Because of heavy cross-ownership in the media industry, the very sources upon which the public relies for its information refuse to publicize the harm being done.

Networks have rarely, if ever, let the American people look at the research evidence.

The only glimpses allowed have been strongly controlled by the networks so as not to hurt their public image with the truth.

Clearly, there are many steps that can be legally taken to limit entertainment violence in our country and that are totally within the bounds of our National Constitution.

For example, every advertisement promoting the watching of entertainment violence could and should be presented with a warning that the Surgeon General has determined that the viewing of entertainment violence is harmful to your health and that of others.

There can and should be required advertisements telling the viewer of the harmful effects of watching entertainment violence for every two ads promoting violence.

Currently, this Government and Congress are slashing funding of the only low-violence network in our country—the Public Broadcasting System. Research has found that watching PBS actually decreases violence, at least in children reviews.

The funding of PBS is probably the most effective and least expensive antiviolence program in our country. Instead of cutting funding, Congress should increase funding for, access to, and program advertisement of PBS programing. Congress can and should add a second public network. This could conveniently be added, to cable TV.

A current law can be changed that forbids commercial television from having access to the fine low-violence cartoons producted by public moneys for PBS and now sitting in mothballs.

These programs can currently only be used if the broadcaster gives up all profits for that period of time and shows low violence for a large financial loss.

This law exists in spite of the public having spent $75 million to produce these films. They should be made available to commercial channels for reasonable fees, somewhat lower than the prevailing rate so as to encourage prosocial and low-violence entertainment for children.

The current restriction exists solely to protect the profits of the producers and owners of high-violence cartoon programing. If Congress is worried about hurting such poor people, it could even buy up the current high-violence cartoon programs and take them out of circulation.

Violent programs could and should be required to carry an inaudible signal with television sets being required to be built with a lock mechanism that, when set, would blank out violence programing at whatever level the family or viewer wished to set his TV.

Such a proposal was brought up in this committee in the 1977 hearings along with other sensible ideas. These proposals were defeated by an 8-to-7 vote at that time through a coalition formed between conservative Congressmen and the big money forces of the television industry.

The advertising of violent toys on television should be outlawed. Certainly, if it can be illegal to advertise cigarettes on television, it must be constitutional to outlaw the selling of violence to children.

At NCTV we receive many complaints about the harmful promotion of gruesomely violent films on TV. It has been openly admitted in move industry literature that the target audience of these ads start with the 12-year-old age group, even for R-rated, hyperviolent moves.

A public movie rating system is urgently needed as presently exists in every other country in the developed free world. Such a rating system is clearly constitutional since several States have had such rating boards in the past, as recently as last year.

With 20 times as many films being watched on television as in the theater, this needs to be a concern of this committee. The consumer has a right to know the content of the product before he pays his money or invests his time.

This would also allow hyperviolent programs to be placed in a special X-rated category for violence and restricted from television and from viewers under 18 years old in the theater.

It would also permit adults to have an idea of what they are thinking about seeing and knowledge of its probably harmful influence.

A small white dot could be required to be broadcast in the upper left-hand corner of the screen on violent programs such as is done in France. This would allow the viewer to quickly know that the program was one of high violence and not healthy viewing.

It would allow the parent a convenient guideline to set for their children and, even themselves.

Government can continue to fund further research in the several areas of study that are still inadequately researched. These would include the effects of viewing violent sports contests such as boxing, ice hockey, and professional wrestling. Nine studies have found viewers of such high violence to be adversely affected. Football violence should also be researched to find out what type of violence on the field might be harmful to the viewers. Much research is also needed to know the effects of these sports on the habits of the participants as well.

Research could also examine if there are ways to present violence that do not promote violence but rather that educate the viewer on the real dangers of violence. Examples of this may be realistic and nonsensational documentaries, et cetera.

Further research on the effects of violence toys and games, which are heavily promoted on TV, and on the effects of the heavy positive portrayal of alcohol consumption on television is needed—the average viewer will see alcohol consumed 3,000 times each year on TV and almost always with positive consequences.

Several national consumer and public access channels should be started with public funding. This would allow the American people to get honest product information and, ideally, indepth public discussion untainted by commercial influences.

Municipal ownership and/or control of cable television monopolies should be encouraged instead of outlawed by conservative and special interest forces as is currently being attempted by this Congress.

I am very pessimistic that this Congress will do anything to control media violence or to promote the public interest. I fully expect it to continue to take steps which result in the promotion of violence—cutting funding for public TV, allowing commercialization of public TV, banning municipal influence over cable, fostering media concentration, blocking access to nonviolent, publicly owned children's programing, et cetera.

I doubt that big money power will allow national consumer channels or public access channels, warnings of the effects of entertainment violence, reinstatement of the research funding necessary to get more knowledge of harmful influences, et cetera.

Until the strangle-hold on democracy caused by the powerful influence of special-interest groups through their political action committee campaign contributions is broken, I expect that the American people will get little help from Congress.

Only when public financing of elections is successfully passed, will we see Congressmen truly worried about what the average citizen thinks. I fully expect the opinions of 94 percent of physicians and 80 percent of the American people, that violent programing needs to be decreased, to be ignored by this Congress. I only hope that I am wrong.

I congratulate Congressmen Timothy Wirth, Edward Markey, and Ronald Mottl for bucking the pressures of certain powerful broadcast and cable lobbies by having these hearings.

If we had more leaders such as you, I am sure that we would already be living in a less violent and yet freer society than we find ourselves in today.

[Dr. Radecki's prepared statement and newsletter follow:]

Prepared for: U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on Telecommunications,
Consumer Protection, and Finance
Hearings on "Social Behavioral Effects of Violence on Television"
Wednesday, October 21, 1981

Statement of Dr. Thomas Radecki, M.D., Chairperson of the National Coalition on Television Violence

Our nation is suffering from a violence epidemic that is worse than at any time in recorded American history. Since 1957, rates of murder, rape, assault, robbery, and burglary have soared--increasing from 300-600% depending on the category. In spite of this tremendous increase, new records of violence continue to be set almost every year.

In Central Illinois, where I practice psychiatry, we have seen two dismemberment and three axe murders in the last year alone. In Decatur, where I live, there has been a bank president pay to have his girlfriend assassinated and a union leader's wife pay to have her husband murdered. I find surprisingly high levels of marital and family violence in my practice even in middle and upper class households. The most rapidly growing causes of death in the past two decades in our country have been from homicide, suicide, and alcohol abuse.

There are specific reasons for this violence epidemic. It is clear that there are multiple causes but that the exact percentages of causation of each are not known. Certainly, the large increases in alcohol consumption since the 1950's plays an important role. Increases in drug abuse have caused a smaller proportion of this increase both due to the direct effects of drugs such as PCP, amphetamines, and downers, and due to the violent climate that surrounds the trafficking in and purchasing of illegal substances. Family breakdown plays a role as may the less than ideal functioning of other social institutions.

However, research shows that the most likely, number one cause of this increase in violence is the massive amounts of violent entertainment being sold to the American public. Television is the number one news, advertising, and socializing influence in our society. Americans will see many times more violence on TV than from all other sources combined. I can comfortably estimate that 25-50% of the violence in our society is coming from the culture of violence being taught by our entertainment media, most strongly by the television and movie industries. This estimate is based on solid research findings.

For instance, Dr. William Belson of the London School of Economics completed a $300,000 study, funded by CBS, of 1600 London adolescents. He looked at 227 possible causes of violence in their lives. He found that the amounts of TV violence consumed accounted for at least 12% of the variance in the amount of violence committed. He also found that film and comic book violence were responsible for violence to lesser degrees.

Dr. Leonard Eron and Dr. Monroe Lefkowitz of the University of Illinois Department of Psychology completed their 10-year follow-up study of American adolescents and found a similar percentage of the effect coming from the amount of TV violence seen. A cause-effect relationship was clearly demonstrated.

Yet, both of these studies are certain to underestimate the influence of TV violence since exact records of each program viewed were not possible. Studies of shorter duration where the actual programs seen were able to be controlled, find greater effects.

A study of middle-class adult males completed by Dr. Roderick Gorney of UCLA found a 37% decrease in hurtful behavior around the home during a single week when violent programing was eliminated from the viewing diet. In 67 studies reviewed by Dr. Scott Andison in 1976, more than 3/4ths of them found increased violence or aggression due to violent programs. The average effect in these studies was a 25% higher level of violent or aggressive behavior.

Dr. J. Bryant of the University of Massachusetts recently found very large increases in everyday anxiety in college students who were assigned to watch violent TV programs over a six-week period. Other studies point to increases in depression, dishonesty, cheating, willingness to rape, desire to punish, etc.

Even these studies necessarily underestimate the impact of entertainment violence. This is because many indirect effects of TV violence are certain to add to the final outcome. For instance, several dozen studies on adults find that they are just as strongly affected by television violence as children. Other family research shows that children learn a significant proportion of their violent habits from their parents. Thus, TV increases the angry and hurtful behavior of American parents in a major way and, thereby, indirectly teaches violence to children through yet another avenue.

Other indirect effects include TV's teaching of violence to one's peers who in turn teach violence to the person in question. TV almost certainly teaches even our teachers to use more violence in resolving school problems, judges in handling court cases, and even leaders in handling international conflicts. It teaches such a tolerance for violence that we are allowing increasingly horrendous amounts in our homes, schools, and society without taking real action to eliminate its source.

In all, NCTV has found over 700 scientific studies and reports covering over 100,000 people, mostly done in the United States but also covering 16 foreign countries, as well. These studies show an overwhelming agreement that TV and media violence is having a serious and harmful effect on society. This research shows that all social classes, ethnic backgrounds, age groups, both sexes, and various educational backgrounds are adversely affected by the huge quantities of entertainment violence sold to us.

This research means that the United States television and movie industries are also the largest promoters of violence world-wide, since by far the largest amounts of violence seen in European democracies, Arab states, or even in iron curtain countries like Poland are produced here in America. Rates of violence have increased in almost every free country in the past 10-20 years. This is the first world-wide epidemic of violence in history. It is certain that the heavy world-wide distribution of American film and TV violence plays an important role in this increase.

Additional Research Notes

Many people continue to think that cartoons, the most violent hours on television, are not harmful. This is perhaps due to desensitization and to the confusion that "kid stuff" is nothing to worry about. However, NCTV has located 25 separate studies on cartoon violence. Of these, 24 of the studies show clear trends or proven significant effects that this programing increases aggression and violence in children viewers.

There is a myth that only a small percentage of viewers are affected. In study after study, this has been disproven. It is clear that, especially when the massive amounts consumed are considered, the majority of all viewers are adversely influenced. This myth exists due to desensitization, a lack of knowledge of available information, and to the massive promotion of violence through advertising. Indeed, I would go so far as to say that probably no one who sees the large amounts of TV violence typical of American TV can escape at least some harmful influence. Even our TV and movie monitors who work for NCTV report that they, themselves, are adversely affected, noting increased amounts of anxiety, irritability, etc.

There is a misconception that if the viewer enjoys a violent program.

then the viewer is not affected. Programs in which "the good guy teaches the bad guy a lesson" by using violence, are often enjoyed by viewers. These programs cause somewhat less anxiety, but are actually likely to be more effective at getting the viewer to accept and use violence in his life. It is these programs that the networks are promoting in huge numbers at this moment.

Another myth I would like to correct is that true pornography, i.e. violent sexual portrayals, does not result in rape and violent sex. NCTV has found 33 studies, almost all since the last governmental hearings on this subject. These show that non-violent erotic films and material do not increase rape but that the frequent sexual violence and violence found in both hard-core and soft-core pornography, definitely increases the acceptance of interest in committing sexual violence for the typical American or Canadian adult male.

This so-called, "soft-core" sexual violence is quite frequent on cable television and even occurs on network TV.

Finally, many people believe that comedic violence does not promote violence. Although there are only a few studies on this type of entertainment, they show an increase in aggression and the acceptance of violence in both children and adults. Violence is not a laughing matter and should not be taught to be one.

Censorship of Real-life Violence and Non-violence by Commercial TV

Public television is not only the least violent network in this country but public channels in every country that has allowed commerical television and public TV to co-exist finds that the commercial stations always portray more violent programing. In addition to this problem, the violence on commercial television is distorted from reality, not for artistic reasons, but so as not to turn-off the viewer or advertiser.

In addition to the 200-fold increased levels of violence on television, the violence actually shown is no where near realistic. There is a far higher percentage of spontaneous domestic violence in real -life and much less street violence than on television. Guns are much less common in real life but far more deadly. Television censors the pain and suffering that results from violence especially when it comes to the long-term pain, the hospital treatments, the prison sentences, the burials, and the broken families.

For example, in real-life 50% of all violence is committed under the influence of alcohol. On TV, only 1% of violence is due to alcohol. Studies have found that irrational drunken violence is not quite as popular as the gratuitous violence that saturates the airwaves. The influence of the alcohol advertisers also cannot be discounted. NCTV actually encourages an increase in drunken violence on television accompanied by large decreases in other types of violence. We are opposed to the total elimination of violence from TV. Rather, violence should never be used to entertain but only to educate the viewer realistically to the amounts and causes of real-life violence so that the viewer may have an accurate idea of the true consequences of violence.

NCTV's goal is a 75% decrease of violence on network TV and larger decreases in the amount of violence presented on HBO and cable movie channels.

No Evidence That Viewers Want More Violence

NCTV has found ten studies including one of our own on the popularity of violent television. All of these studies show that violent programing is no more popular than non-violent programing. Our own study found no fall-off in viewership when TV violence decreased by 15% this past November and December and no increase in viewership when it was increased by 40% from January to May of this year. In addition to these 10 studies, another example is that although cinema violence is much worse this year than ever before in its history, theatre attendance has not gone up but is actually slightly down in spite of massive increases in the TV advertising of these movies.

Violent programs may or may not serve a commercial function of getting certain age groups to tune into different programs so that products may be sold matching the intended audiences. Even this would be a very minor difference. Repeated opinion polls show Americans want less not more violence on television and in the movies.

Only through massive advertising, pushing the idea that watching violence is harmless entertainment, can the popularity of TV and movie violence be maintained. NCTV has estimated that approximately one billion dollars is spent each year promoting violence by the TV and film industries with essentially no money spent on counter-advertising or warning viewers of the finding of objective scientific studies showing major and important harmful effects on adults and children alike.

Amounts of TV and Entertainment Violence Increasing

TV violence was present in the early 1950's and of concern to the first congressional hearings on this subject in 1954. However, in 1957 it jumped by 200% in a single year with the heavy promotion of the adult western. It has continued upward and maintained its current very high levels over the past two decades. (It is of interest that 1957 was the year when violence first started to increase in our country.)

Recently, television violence has not gone down on network TV in the slightest, but has started to increase in very major ways due to the influence of cable television on TV viewing in general. HBO and other movie channels are 200-300% more violent than even the networks. Films make up 40% of the violence on network TV and a full 60% of the violence seen in HBO homes.

Since twenty times as many films are seen at home as in the movie theatres, the product that the movie industry is producing has to be of concern to this committee. The number of violent exploitation movies released this year has increased by 50% over the previous record set in 1980. These are already making their way onto cable and network television. These films guarantee further increases in television and real-life violence for the immediate future.

The Motion Picture Association of America(MPAA) makes a joke of violence with their movie rating system. NCTV research has found that the MPAA gives PG and R movie ratings to movies of identical violence levels. The only differentiating factors for MPAA is sex, language, and gruesomeness. Amazingly, the least violent of the MPAA movie categories is the X-rating which is used to keep children and adolescents out of movies. Apparently, no amount or intensity of violence is bad enough not to serve to the youth of our nation! In addition, the MPAA will not allow theatres to publish the reason specific ratings are given. Thus, pro-social, non-violent movies like Ordinary People, and Kramer vs Kramer are given the same rating as the Texas Chainsaw Massacre and Friday the Thirteenth with no additional information.

Because of heavy cross-ownership in the media industry, the very sources upon which the public relies on for its information refuse to publicize the harm being done. Networks have rarely if ever let the American people look at the research evidence. The only glimpses allowed have been strongly controlled by the networks so as not to hurt their public image with the truth.

Another example is Time-Life, Inc. which owns the nation's #1 newsmagazine. Few people realize that over 50% of Time-Life's profits come from HBO. Time-

Life is currently waging a powerful effort to assure that the public is not allowed any influence over the content of cable TV. Time magazine did not publish any of the forty or so research studies of 1980 showing the harmful effects of television violence but published the only study, and a controversial one at that, claiming that TV has no impact.

The heavy promotion of Raiders of the Lost Ark by the press before it even got to the theatres is another example. This is a movie which trains the audience to cheer murder and which averages 80 violent acts per hour. It was rated PG in the United States and yet banned in Sweden because of its extreme promotion of violence. No warnings accompanied the promotion of this movie in magazines such as Time and Newsweek which proclaimed it as great family entertainment. Public interest groups are not even allowed to see the movies before release so that the public can be warned even in a small way of the harmful influences. Only those who promise to promote the movies are allowed pre-screenings.

High violence movies help establish what is acceptable entertainment, first for the theatre and cable, and then for network television. It is absolutely certain that they increase violence in our world in a major way. It is also certain that they would be rated more severely and restricted more tightly by a public rating system.

Steps Needed to Decrease Entertainment Media Violence

It is strange how much our society restricts sex and yet how loose it is in regards to violence. There is essentially no sex on Saturday morning cartoons, in comicbooks, or in amusement electronic game centers. However, these locations have the highest concentrations of violence in our society along with our violent PG and R-rated movies. Network television carries massive amounts of explicit violence without much concern. However, it restricts explicit sex much more severely and is even decreasing implied sex in a major way this year. The point is not that there should be more sex, but that the proven, major harmful effects of video violence needs to be taken more seriously. There has never been a decrease in the quantity of network violence similar to this year's decrease in implied sexual references. This did not even occur in 1977 when the American Medical Association and the National PTA demanded action and urged their members not to buy the products of high violence sponsors.

Clearly, there are many steps that can be legally taken to limit entertainment violence in our country and that are totally within the bounds of our national constitution. For example, every advertisement promoting the watching of entertainment violence could and should be presented with a warning that the Surgeon General has determined that the viewing of entertainment violence is harmful to your health and that of others. There can and should be one required advertisement telling the viewer of the harmful effects of watching entertainment violence for every two ads promoting violence.

Currently, this government and Congress are slashing funding of the only low violence network in our country--the Public Broadcasting System. Research has found that watching PBS actually decreases violence in society. The funding of PBS is probably the most effective and least expensive anti-violence program in our country. Instead of cutting funding, Congress should increase funding, access, and program advertisement of PBS programing. Congress can and should add a second public network which could be added, at least to cable TV.

A current law can be changed that forbids commercial television from having access to the fine low-violence cartoons produced by public monies for PBS and now sitting in mothballs. These programs can currently only be used if the broadcaster gives up all profits for that period of time and shows low violence for a large financial loss. This law exists in spite of the public having spent 75 million dollars to produce these films. They should be made available to commercial channels for reasonable fees, somewhat lower than the prevailing rate so as to encourage pro-social and low violence entertainment for children. The current restriction exists solely to protect the profits of the producers and owners of high violence cartoon programing. If Congress is worried about hurting such poor people, it could even buy up the current high violence cartoon programs and take them out of circulation.

Violent programs could and should be required to carry an inaudible signal with television sets being required to be built with a lock mechanism that, when set, would blank out violence programing at whatever level the family or viewer wished to set his TV. Such a proposal was brought up in this committee in the 1977 hearings along with other sensible ideas. These proposals were defeated by an 8-7 vote at that time through a coalition formed between conservative congressmen and the Big Money forces of the television industry.

The advertising of violent toys on television should be outlawed. Certainly, if it can be illegal to advertise cigarettes on television, it must be constitutional to outlaw the selling of violence to children. Additionally, the advertising of violent movies should be banned from television. At NCTV we receive many complaints about the harmful promotion of gruesomely violent films on TV. It has been openly admitted in movie industry literature that the target audience of these ads start with the 12 year-old age group even for R-rated movies.

A public movie rating system is urgently needed as presently exists in every other country in the developed free world. Such a rating system is clearly constitutional since several states have had such rating boards in the past as recently as last year. With 20 times as many films being watched on television as in the theatre, this needs to be a concern of this committee. The consumer has a right to know the content of the product before he pays his money or invests his time. This would also allow hyper-violent programs to be placed in a special X-rated category for violence and restricted from television and from viewers under 18 years old in the theatre. It would also permit adults to have an idea of what they are thinking about seeing and knowledge of its probable harmful influence.

A small white dot could be required to be broadcast in the upper left-hand corner of the screen on violent programs such as is done in France. This would allow the viewer to quickly know that the program was one of high violence and not healthy viewing. It would allow the parent a convenient guideline to set for their children and, even, themselves.

Government can continue to fund further research in the several areas of study that are still inadequately researched. These would include the effects of viewing violent sports contest such as boxing, ice hockey, and professional wrestling. (Nine studies have found viewers of such high violence to be adversely affected. Football violence should also be researched to find out what type of violence on the field might be harmful to the viewers. Much research is also needed to know the effects of these sports on the habits of the participants as well.) Research could also examine if there are ways to present violence that do not promote violence but rather that educate the viewer on the real dangers of violence. Examples of this may be realistic and non-sensational documentaries, etc. Further research on the effects of violence toys and games, which are heavily promoted on TV, and on the effects of the heavy positive portrayal of alcohol consumption on television is needed(the average viewer will see alcohol consumed 3000 times each year on TV and almost always with positive consequences).

Several national consumer and public access channels should be started with public funding. This would allow the American people to get honest product information and, ideally, in depth news untainted by commercial influences. Municipal ownership and/or control of cable television monoplies should be encouraged instead of outlawed by conservative and special interest forces as is currently being attempted by this Congress.

I am very pessimistic that this Congress will do anything to control media violence or to promote the public interest. I fully expect it to continue to take steps which result in the promotion of violence--cutting funding for public TV, allowing commercialization of public TV, banning municipal influence over cable, fostering media concentration, blocking access to non-violent, publically-owned children's programing, etc. I doubt that Big Money powers will allow national consumer channels or public access channels, warnings of the effects of entertainment violence, reinstatement of the research funding necessary to get more knowledge of harmful influences, etc.

Until the strangle-hold on democracy caused by the powerful influence of special interest groups through their political action committee campaign contributions is broken, I expect that the American people can expect little help from Congress. Only when public financing of elections is successfully passed, will we see Congressmen truly worried about what the average citizen thinks. I fully expect the opinions of 94% of physicians and 80% of the American people, that violent programing needs to be decreased, to be ignored by this Congress. I only hope that I am wrong. I congratulate Congressman Timothy Wirth and Congressman Ronald Mottl for bucking the pressures of certain powerful broadcast and cable lobbies by having these hearings. If we had more leaders such as you, I am sure that we would already be living in a less violent and yet freer society than we find ourselves in today.

NATIONAL COALITION ON TELEVISION VIOLENCE

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NCTV Releases Current TV Violence Monitoring Results

NBC & American Cyanimid Lead Adult; CBS & General Mills Child Violence

In response to continued, widespread concern about the levels of violence on television, the National Coalition on Television Violence was formed. One of its projects is the continuous monitoring of prime-time and Saturday morning television. Every week, one network is randomly selected. This effort is a continuation and enlargement of past monitoring projects.

National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting (NCCB) first monitored TV for violence in 1976 with the help of funding from the American Medical Association. Television violence had reached an all-time high in 1975-76. After the results were made public, considerable pressure was brought on the sponsors by PTA groups, churches, physicians, schools, and individuals. This resulted in a 9% decrease in violence in 1977. Nick Johnson, NCCB chairman, called it a rare victory for citizen action. Unfortunately, no further decreases have since occurred. Indeed, in 1978, violence on Saturday morning increased by 30%.

Research continues to accumulate and leaves no room for doubt that television violence is a major factor causing real-life violence. It confirms the worries of the AMA, numerous church groups, the PTA, and others. Starting with this release, program and advertiser data will be released throughout the year. In this way concerned citizens will be able to stay closely informed as to which programs are violent and which advertisers are living up to commitments to improve our programming.

NCTV's goal is a 75% decrease in the amount of violence on television. This would return TV to the levels before 1957. It would be half the level found causing clear increases in violence in Belson's CBS-funded study of London. Although at such a level Sen. Estes Kefauver expressed concern at the U.S. Senate hearings on juvenile delinquency in 1954, we expect that a 75% decrease would result in a clear beneficial effect on our country.

Monitoring Results

The results show little change in the high violence levels found in the 1977 and 1979 monitors of NCCB. NBC has been clearly the most violent network since July 20, 1980 when the monitoring began. All 3 commercial networks rated very high for violence on Saturday morning children's programming, averaging 24 violent acts per hour. CBS individually led the pack with 31 acts per hour or 1 violent act every 90 seconds with advertisements subtracted out!

2

Cartoon Violence Clearly Affects Children

NCTV has found nine scientific studies on the subject of cartoon violence and its effects on children. These cover ages from 3-years-old to sixth grade. All nine studies found increased violent behavior in the children after watching violent cartoons. Specific violent cartoons studied include Bugs Bunny, Roadrunner, Superheroes, Scooby-Doo & Tom & Jerry.

A study by Dr. Albert Bandura shows that cartoon violence is as effective at causing increased violence as real-life modelling or filmed violence of real people.

There is no question that the extreme level of violence on Saturday morning cartoons is having a bad impact on the youth of our country. Also, recent programming shows that non-violent cartoons can be made, are entertaining, and can even teach positive lessons to our children.

Adults are as Strongly Affected as Children

Despite the focus of much of what has been written in the lay press, adults are as strongly affected by television violence as children. Twenty-five studios have shown an average effect of 25% more violence in the groups assigned to watch violent programming. Most of the violence in our society is committed by Americans in their late-teens and twenties. This is the group that can be most helped by bringing the violence levels of television down closer to reality.

Studies have shown that television dramatically exaggerates the amount of violence in the real world. Television has fifteen times more law enforcement officers than real-life. The chances of a TV character being attacked is 200 times that in real-life (800 times real-life for cartoon characters!). Violence on television is more often premeditated and done by strangers than in real-life where alcohol and senseless anger between family and friends play bigger roles than the networks portray.

NCTV opposes the total elimination of violence. We think that the levels should be much decreased to reflect reality, that portraying real violence does not mean blood spurting out of bullet holes but showing all the human suffering and tragedy caused to the family and society due to violence.

The American epidemic of violence must be reversed. Almost every year a new record is set for the most violent year ever. Research shows that TV and media violence is playing a major role in this epidemic. More years of life are lost in this country each year due to violence than to cancer of the breast, skin, and bones combined.

U.S. Crime Increases Again to New Records

Serious crime has increased an average of 10% nationally in the first half of 1980. Murders are up 5%, rapes up 12% nation-wide. Auto thefts increased 4%. Thus violent crime is out-pacing all crime and both are growing much faster than the population. Chicago Crime Commission (AP) 10/21/80.

TV–The Great American Violence Machine

"If I were to attempt to destroy a nation internally, I would brainwash that nation into accepting violence. I would educate masses to hate and kill and burn and destroy. I would condition people to tolerate violence as an acceptable type of behavior... I would present this information entertainingly–in the form of television."

"Television provides amazingly effective, absolutely marvelous lessons–the problem is that the lessons capitalize on skills of murder, arson, and robbery. . .At this point, I am worried about democracy. It is not that democracy has failed, but that it has been usurped by corporate and advertising control and Watergate-style politicians. . ."

"The **"cover-up" by the networks** of the clear results of research on TV violence is decried. Politicians allowed the Networks to have veto power over who was picked for the Surgeon General's Committee and veto power over the official report, and then control over getting the actual or distorted information to the public.

". . .former FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson's declaration to Sen. Howard Baker: 'I feel Senator, . . .there are no words too strong to describe the outrage that you ought to feel, as I do, over what network officials are doing, and what they are failing to do. . .

"FCC Commissioner Rex Lee commented that 'the Surgeon General and his committee made it very clear that there was a causal relationship, and that something has to be done.'

"**As consumers, our greatest weapon is to boycott the products sponsoring offensive programs and to inform the manufacturers of the reason for the boycott.**

"Pres. Leo Singer of Miracle White Co. announced that his company would never again sponsor or buy spot announcements on, or adjacent to, programs presenting violence. Following his announcement on Oct. 9, 1973, to the Lions Club International, Singer received 125,000 letters commending his action.

"NABB Vice President Frank Orme quoted letters from Proctor and Gamble, Gillette, Kinney Shoe Co., Jack-in-the-Box, and Albertson Food Centers all pledging to cease advertising on horror and other violent television programs." **Harry J. Skornia, Past President of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, Professor Emeritus, Univ. of Illinois,** and **Endorser of NCTV**, Intellect, April 1977.

What You Can Do

In 1977 thousands of citizens wrote the advertisers to express their concern. This year, the Illinois White House Conference on Families again suggests that we "must challenge the FCC and the sponsors of TV programs to provide wholesome family-life programming and discourage violence. . ." (see NCTV Newsletter #4). The addresses of the high and low violence advertisers are enclosed. **Writing letters and joining NCTV will again begin the work started in 1977.** United citizen action will bring about lasting change.

RESEARCH REVIEW

Film Violence and Verbal Aggression

A naturalistic field study of the effects of violent films on adolescents was done using 74 boys in four cottages for youthful offenders. The five violent movies used were: The Chase, The Champion, The Wild One, and Ride Beyond Vengeance. Non-aggressive movies were: The Harlem Globetrotters, Beach Blanket Bingo, Boy on a Dolphin, Ride the Wild Surf, and the Absent-minded Professor. One film was watched each night for two cottages and only on the last night for two cottages. An additional condition studied was the effect of harassment and criticism during the actual evaluation at the end of the week.

Those who saw the aggressive movie(s) expressed significantly more intense verbal aggression than those who viewed the nonaggressive movie(s). Also, those who were severely criticized during evaluation were more verbally aggressive than those who were not. Media portrayals of physical aggression increase verbal aggression in the viewers. **R.J. Sebastian, J. Communication,** Summer 1978, 164-171.

TV & Aggression Field Study in Preschool Children

A well-designed and implemented field study of 200 preschool children from New Haven, Connecticut was recently reported by the Singers. Free-play behavior was carefully rated during two ten-minute sessions three times during the year. Each family kept a careful television log for two-week periods three times during the year as well. Intensity with which the child watched as well as the specific shows were recorded. The log books supplied to the parents consisted of a day-by-day listing of all programs presented by all stations. Twenty behaviors were recorded with excellent reliability: Imaginativeness, positive affect, persistence, aggression, motor activity, interactions with peers & adults, cooperation with peers & adults, leadership, fearful, angry, sad, tired moods and others.

As expected, as the children got older during the year, cooperation, interaction, and leadership increased. Unfortunately, so did aggression. Playfulness, made up of interaction, cooperation, leadership, imaginativeness, and positive affect was not related to TV viewing patterns. This is essentially the development of the happy, friendly and imaginative child.

Aggression, motor activity, and anger was increased by "action" shows such as "**Wonder Woman**", "**Charlie's Angels**", "**The Incredible Hulk**", "**Battlestar Galactica**" and "**Six Million Dollar Man**". Game shows characterized by much shouting and hysterical activity also were found to be related with increases in this group of behaviors. These results were somewhat more common for the boys and those with lower IQs. Heavy viewing of news and cartoons also seemed to correlate with aggression especially for boys. Eliminating the effects of IQ, social class, sex, and cultural background, the results continue to show a clear correlation of aggression and violent programming. Children watching more TV violence tended to get more violent as the year went on.

The strong influence of violent cartoons or actions shows is supported again when year-long trends are considered. "**Superheroes**", "**Woody Woodpecker**", "**Scooby-Doo**" are found to have clear influences. "**Tom & Jerry**", "**Spider Man**" had negative effects. "**Sesame Street**" appeared to increase motor activity which was thought to be due to its rapid shifts, arousing and sometimes aggressive content. **Dorothy & Jerome Singer, Yale Univ.,** Annals of New York Academy of Science 289-303, 1980.

Help NCTV Gather Information

Please clip and send any articles you find or write on television violence, media violence, crimes precipitated by viewing violence, and other inappropriate media presentations, etc. Mail them to our newsletter and monitoring office, NCTV, P.O. Box 647, Decatur, IL 62521

NCTV Staff – Rob Gluck M.A., National Monitoring Project Director. Joan Peterson, Ellen Strasma, & Kelly Wingard rest of monitoring team. **Newsletter Editor:** Dr. Thomas Radecki MD. **Volunteer Staff:** Board Members, Jean & Thomas Radecki, Aleeta Wernecke, Gale Ainey, Mickey Curry, Trish Bernard, & others.

Information & Inquiries. Phone (217) 429-6668 Newsletter & Monitoring Office. News Release information.

Newsletter: Printed 8 times a year. Available with membership or $20.00. Bi-weekly report $90. Weekly report $150.

Violent Pornography Again Shown to Increase Aggression

Several studies now indicate that violence against women depicted in pornographic films may lead to criminal behavior. Sex in combination with violence increased tendencies toward aggression, while nonviolent erotica did not. With the marked increase of sexual violence films against women and the 13.2% increase in rape in 1979 reported by the FBI, the connection is being taken more seriously.

Research papers presented at the Sept. '80 American Psychological Association Convention follow. **Dr. Ed Donnerstein (Univ. Wisconsin)** studied 120 men and found that after watching a sexually violent film, they were much more likely to administer a mildly painful electric shock to female participants grading their test questions and secretly making incorrect grading decisions. Males who had watched a nonviolent sexual movie were no more likely to administer shocks than those watching a neutral talk show. Men paired with male graders showed only small increases in aggression for both erotic and sexually violent films.

Dr. Neil Malamuth & James Check of Univ. of Manitoba used a questionnaire after nonviolent feature length films or after "**Swept Away**", about a violent man and a woman who learns to crave sexual sadism, and "**The Getaway**" in which a woman falls in love with the man who raped her. Tested one week

(continued page 6)

4

The Monitoring Results

These initial monitoring results cover four full weeks for each commercial network and two weeks for PBS. Monitoring began 7/20/80 and runs through 10/25/80 in this report. All results are reported in **violent acts per hour** based on NCTV's scoring system. Current Cinema Movie monitoring has also begun and is reported below. PBS station is Champaign, Illinois.

Overall Violence Ratings:
(violent acts per hour)

	ABC	CBS	NBC	PBS	
Overall Prime-time	**5.1**	**4.9**	**7.5**	**2.3**	**NBC most violent in prime-time!**
drama shows only (excluding movies)	10 1	5.2	9.2	4.5	
movies	6.4	6.5	8.4	— —	
comedy/variety	3.0	3.4	4.9	0.4	
documentary/real life	0.5	1.8	2.8	0.3	
Saturday A.M. Cartoons	**21.5**	**31.1**	**18.9**	**— —**	**CBS most violent cartoons!**

Most Violent Prime-time Programs:

1.	Buck Rogers	NBC	25.8
2.	Dukes of Hazzard	CBS	17.3
3.	Misadventures of Sheriff Lobo	NBC	16.4
4.	Hart to Hart	ABC	16.3
5.	NBC Thurs. Night Movies	NBC	15.8
6.	The Incredible Hulk	CBS	14.3
7.	Galactica 1980 (off-the-air)	ABC	13.7
8.	Charlie's Angels	ABC	12.4
9.	Vegas	ABC	12.4
10.	Shogun (based on 2 episodes)	NBC	12.2
11.	Centennial	NBC	12.0
12.	ABC Sun. Night Movies	ABC	11.0

High Violence Cartoons:

1.	Bugs Bunny/Roadrunner	CBS	50
2.	Superfriends	ABC	30
3.	Johnny Quest	NBC	30
4.	Mighty Mouse/Heckle & Jeckle	CBS	29
5.	Popeye	CBS	29
6.	Daffey Duck	NBC	27
7.	Plasticman	ABC	27
8.	Tom & Jerry	CBS	23
9.	Drak Pak	CBS	20
10.	Godzilla/Globetrotters	NBC	19
11.	Scooby & Scrappy Doo	ABC	17
12.	Batman	NBC	14

Advertiser Ranking

The rankings shown below list those advertisers who, during the study period, sponsored the greatest or least amount of violence.

Most Violent Prime-Time Sponsors:

Rank	Sponsor	Amount	
1.	American Cyanimid	12.3	(83%)*
2	Schering-Plough	11.4	(58%)
3.	Hanes, Inc.	11.4	(46%)
4	Chevrolet	9.6	(48%)
5.	Phillips Petroleum	9.0	(47%)

Most Violent Saturday Morning:

1.	General Mills	25.5	(78%)
2.	General Foods	25.2	(76%)
3.	McDonald's	23.7	(81%)

Least Violent Prime-Time Sponsors:

Rank	Sponsor	Amount	
1.	Richardson-Merrell Co.	0.3	(0%)
2.	American Express	2.7	(10%)
3.	Cosmair, Inc.	3.0	(7%)
4.	Nabisco	3.0	(19%)
5.	General Foods	3.9	(15%)

Violence Ratings:	**acts per hour**
Low Violence	0-2
Some Violence	3-5
Above Average Violence	6-9
High Violence	10 & over

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*percentage (%) of advertisements placed on consistently high-violence programs; the first number represents violent acts per hour of the average program sponsored. Sponsors rank high on both scorings. Thus, no accidents have caused advertisers to be singled out. Only five, instead of the top ten sponsors are being named at this time. This assures that those named are sponsoring clearly large amounts of violence and are well above the top ten cut-off point used in the past. As more data is gathered, the full top ten will be reported.

Violence on Newsmagazine programs was not counted in advertiser scores. Since those were all close to zero it was thought fair to include these advertisers as sponsoring non-violence. This is done to avoid news censorship.

Reliability ratings are done on every third section of programming. Reliability ratings were 0.75 on act-by-act agreement and 0.93 Pearson correlation coefficient for program scores. Both of these are within the standards accepted by scientific journals.

Remaining programs with at least two episodes monitored

CBS Wed. Night Movies	CBS	10
Tim Conway Show	CBS	10
NBC Tues. Night Movies	NBC	10
Barnaby Jones (off-the-air)	CBS	10
Nobody's Perfect (off-the-air)	ABC	9
CBS Sat. Night Movies	CBS	8
CHiPS	NBC	8
ABC Mon. Night Movies	ABC	7
Fantasy Island	ABC	7
NBC Sun. Night Movies	NBC	6
Dallas	CBS	6
NBC Wed. Night Movies	NBC	6
Three's Company	ABC	6
Speak Up America (off-the-air)	NBC	5
Mork & Mindy	ABC	5
Angie	ABC	5
Laverne & Shirley	ABC	5
CBS Tues. Night Movies	CBS	4
ABC Fri. Night Movies	ABC	4
The White Shadow	CBS	4
60 Minutes	CBS	3
Disney's Wonderful World	NBC	2
Jeffersons	CBS	2
Taxi	ABC	2
20/20	ABC	2
Little House on the Prairie	NBC	2
Happy Days	ABC	1
Knot's Landing	CBS	1
Love Boat	ABC	1
Real People	NBC	1
M.A.S.H.	CBS	0
Flo	CBS	0
Archie Bunker's Place	CBS	0
One Day at a Time	CBS	0
Alice	CBS	0
Benson	ABC	0
Lou Grant	CBS	0
Different Strokes	NBC	0
NBC Mon. Night Movies	NBC	0
Facts of Life	NBC	0
WKRP in Cincinnati	CBS	0
Waltons	CBS	0
NBC Magazine	NBC	0
Trapper John M.D.	CBS	0
That's Incredible	ABC	0
Eight is Enough	ABC	0
ABC News Closeup	ABC	0
Barney Miller	ABC	0

PBS-Champaign, Illinois

Multiple Episodes

Masterpiece Theatre	1
All Creatures Great & Small	1
Wall Street Week	0
Over Easy	0

Single Episodes -- 10/19-10/25

Movie — "Key Largo"	15
Japan: Changing Tradition	11
Superstar Profile	6
Against The Wind	4
Great Performances	4
Up & Coming	2
Lively Country, Bill Moyers Journal, Illinois Press, National Geographic Special, Great Performances, Nova, The Advocates, Cosmos, Tomorrow's Families	all 0

Cartoons Without High Violence:

Fred & Barney Meet Schmoo	NBC	7
Fat Albert	CBS	7
The Jetsons	NBC	7
Laff-a-lympics	ABC	6

Addresses

MOST VIOLENT SPONSORS

BRECK, OLD SPICE PRODUCTS
P.C. Baker
American Cyanimid Co.
Berdan Ave.
Wayne, NJ 07470

MAYBELLINE, DI-GEL
R.J. Bennett
Schering-Plough Corp.
Galloping Hill Rd.
Kenilworth, NJ 07033

L'EGGS, UNDERWEAR
Robert Elberson
Hanes Corp.
P.O. Box 5416
Winston-Salem, NC 27103

CHEVROLET
Robert Lund
Chevrolet Motor Division
30007 Van Dyke
Warren, MI 48090

PHILLIPS PETROLEUM
W.F. Martin
Phillips Petroleum Co.
Bartlesville, OK 74004

Letters to Advertisers are Effective

SATURDAY AM VIOLENCE SPONSORS

GENERAL MILLS
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General Mills Inc.
9200 Wayzata Blvd.
Minneapolis, MN 55440

GENERAL FOODS
J.L. Ferguson
General Foods Corp.
250 North
White Plains, NY 10625

McDONALD'S
Ray A. Kroc
McDonald's Corp.
McDonald's Plaza
Oakbrook, IL 60521

LEAST VIOLENT SPONSORS

VICKS, OIL OF OLAY
Smith Richardson, Jr.
Richardson-Merrell, Inc.
Ten Wesport Rd.
Wilton, CT 06897

AMERICAN EXPRESS
James D. Robinson III
American Express Co.
American Express Plaza
NY, NY 10004

L'OREAL PRODUCTS
Jacques Correze
Cosmair, Inc.
530 Fifth Ave.
NY, NY 10036

NABISCO PRODUCTS
Robert Schaeberle
Nabisco, Inc.
E. Hanover, NJ 07936

GENERAL FOODS
(low for prime-time, high for Sat. AM)
J.L. Ferguson
General Foods Corp.
250 North
White Plains, NY 10625

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later, those who had been shown the sexually violent movies scored higher on acceptance of the "rape myth" and of interpersonal violence.

It was pointed out that pornography is far more violent today than in 1968. **Dr. Paul Sapolsky of Florida State University** noted that the current flood of horror movies showing extreme violence against women are a more serious threat than many X-rated movies. Dr. Doll Zillinan of Indiana Univ., a researcher, said that it was ironic that X-rated movies are often banned whereas the more harmful horror ones are not. New York Times 9/30/80

On Prevention of Violence

"Because so many of the causes of family violence are deeply rooted in the nature of American society, there are numerous changes that can and must occur at this level. If we are really serious about wanting to eliminate violence between family members, one of the most basic changes is to take whatever steps are necessary to reduce the amount of violence in society as a whole. This might entail, for example, stringent gun control measures, as well as a reduction in the amount of violence shown on television, not only to children but to adults as well. In fact, all media, including the film industry, magazines, and newspapers, should be induced to limit their depiction of violence." B. Carlson, **SUNY** Albany, "Prevention of Domestic Violence", in **Prevention in Mental Health,** Sage Press, 1980.

Studies in Chicago & Finland Find Increased Aggression

The second year results of the three year suburban and center city Chicago study are now available. The cross-lagged correlations show that second and fourth graders have **increased violence** due to viewing violent male characters, violent female characters, and related to the total amount of viewing as well. Boys and girls both show effects and there appears to be a trend towards an increasing effect in the second year. This would be in keeping with the idea of cumulative as well as immediate effects.

The study in Finland by Kirsti Lagerspetz has finished its first year and finds similar increases in all three categories for both sexes although very weak for simple amount of viewing. Both studies found boys more violent than girls at all times. However, the most aggressive responders of all were "high masculine" women.

It is pointed out that it is counterproductive for parents or therapists to encourage people to engage in fantasy rehearsal of aggressive problem solving in the mistaken assumption that "if you work it out in fantasy, you don't have to work it out in behavior." **L. Eron & L. Huesmann, Univ. of Illinois at Chicago Circle,** Annals of New York Academy of Science, 319-331, 1980.

Thy Neighbor's Television

According to a study by **Elizabeth Roberts** and the Project on Human Sexual Development **at Harvard University,** television men are pictured as problem solvers, aggressive and dominant, while television women are emotional, dependent, and sensitive. . .Affection, love, intimacy and marriage and family are embarrassingly negligible on television. . .But then divorce isn't prized either. . . Roberts shows that much of television's erotic activity is linked with violence involving women. Edwin Diamond, American Film 9/80

Televised Hockey Fights Increase Aggression in Adults

A study of 90 senior high school males randomized the students into three groups. One group watched a 10-minute televised hockey game with fights included. A second group had a 10-minute discussion about ice hockey, and a third group received no treatment. The group which watched the hockey game and fights had a clear increase in hostility and aggression as measured by a test for hostility.

Of the subjects in the film group, 44% reported that they liked the violence (i.e., the fights) in a hockey game the best. However, 81% reported that the violence in the film actually seen caught their interest the most and made them watch more attentively. "It is felt that the results of this study are highly supportive of and consistent with the prior research studies that have found that exposure to violence through the film media has an additive effect on the viewer." **M.J. Celozzi, Univ. Southern Mississippi,** Dissertation Abstracts International 38(10-B) 1978

CABLE NEWS

Texas Man Tenth to Shoot Self After Watching Cable "Deer Hunter"

Richard Mendoza, 24, shot himself in the head while watching Russian roulette scenes in "The Deer Hunter" and was in critical condition in San Antonio. He was watching on Cable TV with two friends when he suddenly unloaded the gun, spun the cylinder, placed it to his temple, said "I'm going to do it" and pulled the trigger. Washington Post 10/15/80. Nine others this year have killed themselves in a similar manner after watching Deer Hunter, mostly or all on cable TV. NCTV Newsletter 8/8/80

ABC President Warns That Self-Regulation Is Needed on Cable

Fred Pierce, ABC President, warned that having one standard for networks while allowing R- or X-rated movies on cable channels threatened to cause a backlash that will wash over everybody in the creative community. He warned of "grassroots activism as a growing national trend". He said, "it's time for cable to join the coalition of restraint--to become part of the ongoing national debate about what is socially acceptable. A voluntary code is definitely in order." He charged a double standard that is "putting side by side, on the same dial, programming filtered through standards of restraint and programming untouched by any responsible standards." Variety 10/22/80

Rainbow to Push Sex & Hard "Action" Adult Movies on Cable

Rainbow Productions has announced that it will begin production of soft sex/hard action adult movies for cable. It says that up to now these have been a very soft sell of pay tv and will "come out of the closet''. Advertising Age 10/13/80.

FILM NEWS

MPAA Movie Rating System a Joke on Public

Widespread dissatisfaction is being voiced about the flood of extremely violent movies showing up at theaters and even on television. **Terror Train, Dressed to Kill, Friday the 13th, Halloween, Mother's Day, He Knows You're Alone, Motel Hell, Octagon, Prom Night.** The list goes on and on. It promises to continue in 1981 with the most common variety of movie advertised for release being in the extreme violence category.

Although these movies are often rated "R" (they should be "X"), this rating is almost never enforced. A full 45% of the audience is between the ages of 12 and 17. Indeed the movies are made especially to appeal to this age group by including characters and murder victims in this age-range. Advertising is also oriented to this group to get their attendance (New York Times 10/2/80). Indeed, theatre owners in Florida vigorously fought a proposed state law to require that the movie industry's own rating system be enforced (Variety 6/25/80).

A description of **Friday the 13th** with 45% under 18 attendance by Gene Shalit of Ladies Home Journal (Oct. 1980) follows: "One of this past summer's biggest money-makers: At a summer camp, a dozen college-age kids are strangled, choked, chopped up, hung upside down and sliced in grisly closeup. After every youngster has been barbarously murdered, Betsy Palmer's head is cut off, revealing her pulsing neck. This noxious mess was slipped an R."

The Motion Picture Association of America openly says that the rating system is a way to avoid independent ratings. They fear enforcement of these ratings might cut into their profit margins. Time magazine (10/6/80) notes that the current decline in standards really took off in 1968 when the Motion Picture Association replaced the old PCA code with the G, PG, R, and X system. Not only are thousands seeing this film in theatres but now it is thrust into American living rooms by HBO and Showtime. These movie networks are now caught up to the big three networks in viewing popularity amongst subscribers of their product (Advertising Age 10/13/80).

Even Fred Pierce, ABC President, warns that putting these movies on cable television is socially irresponsible and should be stopped (Variety 10/22/80). As usual though, he wants only a voluntary code the types of which are already so widely ignored by motion pictures, television, itself, and comic books.

Gene Shalit suggests that we do as England and have a governmentally-supervised rating system independent of the movie producers. He reports that the English system does not allow parents to make exceptions but instead movies are for all, for over 13, or for over 17-years-old (regular X-rating). Some movies are so disgusting that special X certificates for adults only have to be applied for by each local municipality.

He goes over four R and PG movies which in England were rated for adults only while all American children could see them. He recommends an independent rating board and that the ratings be stricfly enforced.

Little Relationship MPAA Ratings and Violence

In monitoring recently-released big screen movies NCTV has found, as it suspected, very little relationship between the M.P.A.A. ratings and the violent content therein. The movie industry rating system seems clearly based primarily on judgments of the sexual and language content of films moreso than violence. To date, the average R-rated movie monitored by NCTV has contained 7.6 violent acts per hour, the average PG-rated film 11.3 acts/hour, and the only G-rated film viewed thus far (Walt Disney's part-animated "Song of the South") scored an 18.9 acts/hour rating.

NCTV monitors have also noted, during film monitoring, the large percentage of apparently under-age moviegoers being allowed admittance to R-rated films, including the presence of very young children at a local showing of the totally inappropriate "Terror Train".

Some sample ratings follow:

	Violent Acts per hour
Terror Train (Fox Studios) (R)	21
My Bodyguard (Fox) (PG)	16
Final Countdown (United Artists) (PG)	15
Fiendish Plot of Fu Manchu (Orion) (PG)	10
Hopscotch (AVCO) (PG)	5
Private Benjamin (Warner Bros.) (R)	3
Middle Age Crazy (Fox) (R)	1
Oh God Book II (Warner Bros.) (PG)	0
Xanadu (Universal) (PG)	0

NCTV Research Shows that 1981 Will Have Violent Movies

In examining the ads in the Oct. 15 Variety Film Market Review, the most common movie theme of 1981 will be extreme violence. 192 Movies were able to be rated by the theme of the ads. 53% had a violence theme with the majority of those in the extreme violence category. Heavy Violence was the next largest category with clear violence representing only 9% of the violent movies. By comparison, sex movies accounted for only 17% of the new movies, comedy 10%, romance and love 4%, entertainment 3%, prosocial 2%, and documentaries 1%. Violence is being produced by the barrelful and marketed world-wide.

National Coalition on Television Violence

☐ To help NCTV monitor & decrease TV violence, enclosed is my membership of $20.

☐ I want to help even more by making an additional contribution of: ☐ $10 ☐ $25 ☐ $75 ☐ $100 ☐ Other Total enclosed ________

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Mail to: NCTV, 1737 DeSales St. Suite 300,
Wash. D.C. 20036
or to: NCTV, PO Box 547, Decatur, IL 62521

Additional Materials

____ Large Group Newsletter Annual Subscription ($20 first, & $2.50 each additional--send all addresses desired)

____ Review of Scientific Literature & Bibliography ($3.00)

____ Endorsement Forms

____ Additional copies of Newsletter--35¢ each

____ Pamphlet "How to Change TV Viewing Habits" (1-9: 20¢ each, 10-50: 12¢, over 50: 7¢ each.)

____ Information on starting local chapters ($1.00)

NEWS BRIEFS

Furor in London over Theatre Rape

The National Theatre production of "The Romans in Britain" acts out a graphic, simulated homosexual rape. Critics panned the show as poor art and politicians are threatening to withdraw public subsidy money. The company faces prosecution for public obscenity. Variety 10/22/80

The National PTA Board of Directors recently voted to continue its TV Project for another year. This issue was again identified as one of the top membership concerns. More than 6,000 PTA members and over 1,000 other volunteers have requested training for TV monitoring.

Video Cassettes Under English Obscene Act

A court of appeal has ruled in London that video-cassettes come within the 1960 Obscene Publication Act. Police arrests are now going on in Soho as part of a campaign to cleanup hard-core videocassettes. Variety 9/24/80.

Family Arguments About Television

According to a recent Gallup Poll, television comes out as a major heavy in our family lives. On the scale of problems, TV didn't rate as bad as inflation, but it ran neck-and-neck with unemployment.

According to a recent Roper Poll, it even causes fights. When people were asked what husbands and wives argued about, money was the champion. But television was a strong contender.

Husbands and wives were far more likely to fight about television than about that old standby, sex. . .In the Gallup Poll, for example, people worried most about the overemphasis on sex and violence. Ellen Goodman 7/10/80

Parents Find It Difficult to Control TV

A study by Shirley O'Bryant and Charles Corder-Bolz has shown TV to be perhaps the most uncontrolled force in the family home. "We were amazed by the number of parents we interviewed who had good parenting skills in all other respects--yet had not adapted those skills to their children's TV viewing." Mass Media Newsletter 10/27/80

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Mr. Mottl. Last but not least as our cleanup hitter, Rev. Don Wildmon, who is very active in the Coalition for Better Television.

He will explain his views on network programing. Reverend Wildmon has been referred to as one of the most feared opponents of network programing. His actions have been felt in the network executive offices in New York.

We want to apologize to you for keeping you last, but we did it with a specific purpose in mind. We want to open and close with our heavy hitters.

STATEMENT OF REV. DONALD WILDMON

Reverend Wildmon. I thought maybe I could leave without saying anything. I am out of company here. I don't normally get the privilege of sitting with this kind of company.

A few weeks ago, I was on a program with Roy Danish, head of the Television Information Office. We were discussing some of these problems. He told me I was a simple-minded man. He thought he was embarrassing me, but he simply told me something I have known all my life. I am rather simple.

I didn't know that you had had hearings a few years ago, and a few years before that, and a few years before that. I didn't have any prepared statement because I really didn't know what the gist of the whole thing was going to be. I do have some opinions.

I don't think that you should be in the business of legislating content of programs on commercial network stations. I do think that the lady, Mrs. Collins, over there, earlier this morning said something about public anger.

Mr. Brad Butler, chairman of Procter & Gamble, made a speech in Los Angeles a few months ago to some television people. He said sooner or later, the public in this country does get its way. I can't argue about all the statistics here and everything.

I do think sometimes, though, we can argue about—well, we can bleed to death while arguing about whether or not we are wounded. I think that is basically what is happening in this situation.

The problem is not sex and violence on television. I thought it was for a long time. That's not the problem at all. The problem in this whole situation is, is television going to respond to whatever it is in its economic interests to respond to. It is not going to improve until it is economically feasible for it to improve.

I think if you wanted to look at something with some substance that you could do something about, if I am not mistaken, I think religious discrimination is illegal in this country.

I think if you made a study of the people who are in the decision-making positions at the networks and in Hollywood, and who provide the networks with their programs and how these programs develop and how people are chosen and how the whole system works, I think you might find something there that you could do something about.

Let me close by saying this: I think within a year, certainly within 2 years, some of the sex and violence and other kinds of programs on television are going to be noticeably absent. I think the American public is just about fed up with it.

While there is a 1st amendment, there is also a 13th amendment, that says involuntary servitude shall not exist in the United States. Now the networks can put the programs on, but we don't have to watch them and we don't have to pay for them.

That's the democratic free enterprise system; and I think what you are going to find within the next year to 2 years is that system is going to be implemented and the message is going to get to the networks what it is to their economic interest to provide the American viewing public with a better kind of programing.

Mr. MOTTL. Thank you very much, Reverend. We certainly appreciate your statement.

We will now start the questioning. We will adhere to the 5-minute rule.

Certain groups have endorsed boycotting the advertising sponsors of violent programs as a means of exerting pressure on the broadcast industry to prevent the airing of programing the groups find objectionable.

Do you consider boycotting sponsors a more desirable check on responsiveness of the networks to the American public than the imposition of direct governmental regulation in this area?

Each one of you will respond to that, we would certainly appreciate it. Incidentally, before we answer that question, Dr. Pearl, has there been anything coming out of the Surgeon General's Office, official, unofficial decree saying that violence on television is bad for Americans' best interests?

Dr. PEARL. There were hearings in 1972 following the first Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee report. At that time, the then Surgeon General did indicate his opinion that the evidence at that time was enough to make him conclude that there was a mental health or public health problem; that even if—if as some were saying at that time, that this influenced only a small percentage of viewers, considering the overall number of viewers, that small percentage influence still constituted in absolute numbers a considerable number of individuals.

So that's the only, I believe, thing that had been said in that regard.

Mr. MOTTL. Can we answer the question, then, I just proffered: With regards to boycotting or governmental intervention? Did you want to answer that?

Dr. PEARL. I am here really essentially to report on a governmental research activity. This being a matter of policy, I think it would be inappropriate in my role to comment on that, except that if I were here as a private citizen, I obviously have an opinion on that.

Mr. MOTTL. What is you opinion?

Dr. PEARL. Concerning the matter of——

Mr. MOTTL. Boycotting or shall we have governmental intervention?

Dr. PEARL. As a private citizen, I am very concerned with first amendment rights and I think it is each citizen's own concern as to whether or not he or she boycotts a particular product, but again, I would have some question as a private citizen—I keep harking on that—concerning the overall effectiveness and what it could accomplish over time.

Mr. MOTTL. Doctor?

Mr. **Gerbner**. As a private citizen, I don't believe those are the alternatives.

Mr. **Mottl**. Whatever alternative you want to suggest.

Mr. **Gerbner**. You can have either, both, or neither. I think any group of Americans has the right to speak or withhold speech, to buy or withhold buying so that I just don't think that that is an issue.

Nor do I think that boycotts have been particularly effective. There is an entire series of industries urging us to buy.

Mr. **Mottl**. What do you suggest, Government intervention of some sort?

Mr. **Gerbner**. Government intervention is a fact of life. The industry exists on the basis of legislation; so that is not even a question. The question is what kind of intervention? Should it continue to intervene as it has intervened in the past or should it intervene in some other way. That is the real question.

As far as the issue of censorship is concerned, censorship is what we have now. The gentlemen who spoke here before are called network censors. They screen, as they discussed, to make television entertainment the most profitable, the most productive and the least offensive commodity.

I think that that system operates under the set of Government protections and Government controls. My own feeling, as Mrs. Charren and others have stated, is that in order to diversify television programing, which is the only way to reduce violence to its legitimate and dramatically equitable manifestations, the economic incentives for the existing censorship have to be somehow tackled, somehow changed.

Mr. **Mottl**. Thank you, Doctor.

Ms. Charren?

Ms. **Charren**. The kind of boycott that the Moral Majority-backed coalition has been talking about for quite a while now is not a violation of the first amendment, because they are not bringing the Government into it.

I am not opposed to boycotts generally. I supported the grape boycott. I supported the idea of a bus boycott, but I do not support the idea of a boycott of speech backed by a heavily funded conservative, one-sided organization with a lot of zeal that has the potential to encourage a kind of McCarthyism when it comes to program content.

In order to boycott speech, you have to make a hit-list of those programs you want to get rid of. If that boycott is successful, it limits options for other viewers.

I think individually I don't worry about it. I didn't wory about it when some small, underfunded citizens group suggested the same kind of thing because I didn't think it would be effective.

I worry a lot about a new right fundamentalist heavily funded effort to censor what we watch on television, and I think the American public should stand up and say, we don't need that kind of protection and ACT actually organized a petition drive on that subject.

Mr. **Mottl**. Thank you.

Reverend?

Reverend Wildmon. It is our basic philosophy that the networks can show that they want to show. The viewer can view what he wants to view out of the options made available to him by the networks.

It is not a question of whether or not censorship does exist or is going to exist. Censorship has always existed except in the last 35 years it has always been in the hands of a small number of people at the network level who have been censoring from their own perspectives for their own reasons.

The advertiser can sponsor what he wants to sponsor. The consumer can buy what he wants to buy. To use a Norman Lear phrase, that's the American way.

I don't see anything at all wrong about that. We have never asked Congress to pass a single law and don't intend to. We don't have any power to enforce this.

The only power we have is the power to moral persuasion. We can't go down the aisle and say, don't buy this brand of soup, buy this brand. All we can do is make information available.

The whole program is voluntary. I think that's the American way. I think that's the way the system ought to work. The problem with Peggy, she's on the other broadcast side of the spectrum, but that's fine. That's her prerogative. This is, after all, democracy.

If we have public support, then we will be successful. If we don't, we are out of business. I thought that's the way democracy works.

Is a boycott a legitimate way? It most certainly is. The problem about the Nielsen polls—and I don't argue with them—is if I am sitting in my home and there is something there that I think is detrimentally affecting my children and other children in society, if I push the off button, nobody knows about it but me.

I still have to live in that society for those that don't push the off button. We are not a group of individuals. We are not 221 million individuals. We are a society. We have standards.

If our worst enemies wanted to do us harm, they could not have done a beter job than what the networks have done in the last 10 years. I think the American people basically, the large percentage of them are ready to say enough is enough. We want and demand more wholesome cleanup lifting entertainment and we are going to get it or we are not going to pay for what we get.

I think in a free enterprise system, that's the way it works. If you make a General Motors product and I don't want to buy it, I can buy a Ford product. The same thing works throughout the free enterprise system.

The boycott goes back to the Boston Tea Party and to Williamsburg and our earliest history. It is part of us. It is voluntarily selective buying just like you voluntarily select what you want to view.

I think it is inherent to the democratic system. You take that away and you have violated the 13th amendment. If I don't have the right to follow the dictates of my conscience, then I don't have any right left at all.

Mr. Mottl. Thank you, Reverend.

Doctor?

Dr. Radecki. I think Government intervention is definitely needed in some ways to balance out the effects of uncontrolled commercialism. I would agree with a lot of the comments of the other panelists.

I think boycotts are acceptable, first of all, if there is no other action that can be taken by the citizens. This body has certainly not taken any actions in the past. I think boycotts are acceptable when you find commercial censorship causing a distortion of reality on television, dramatically increasing the amount of violence on television, compared to reality, and when that element is shown to be seriously harmful to the viewer.

There is not enough research for us to know exactly what types of sexuality occur in reality and to what extent the networks distort that. A lot of people would agree there are some areas that are distorted in the sexual presentation on TV. Unfortunately, there is no research to show how this is affecting us.

I am concerned about boycotts that try to make television more pure than reality, unless there are clear harmful effects. There is less cigarette smoking on television than in reality. I think that's great.

On violence, there's 200 times more than in reality. I think that is a very serious distortion.

However, our citizen efforts alone are not enough. Because there are important commercial influences that citizen efforts aren't going to be able to balance out. For instance, take the promotion of violent toys on television. Also, the pay channels that don't have any advertising. I think there needs to be an educational effort sponsored by legislation from your committee that requires, for every amount of advertising pushing violence, some counteradvertising to warm the viewer of harmful effects.

Counteradvertising was effective on the cigarette-smoking issue until was taken off of television. We had a 12-percent decrease in cigarette smoking in the late 1960's. Counteradvertising will be effective for media violence. Give the information to the public and let them make the decision.

The fact is a billion dollars is spend each year convincing the public viewing violence is fun and entertaining that there is no harm, and yet nothing is spent to counterbalance that.

There needs to be legislation to let the public know what is violent. There needs to be a movie-rating system, these other things I pointed out. We need to have actions to counterbalance this influence.

We need to start taking violence more seriously. It is really true this is having a real impact on society in a major way. We need to take it seriously.

Mr. MOTTL. The gentleman from Texas?

Mr. COLLINS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I think you all represent the best section of the hearing. You have taken a penetrating approach toward what I think is a major problem in America today. Too much television is running our civilization. You mention that children watch 27 hours a week.

You said there is no children's programming in the afternoon. I want no more children's programing. Why are they even watching it 27 hours a week?

Ms. CHARREN. We couldn't agree more than children watch too much.

And 27 hours a week is too much of any kind of television. ACT tries to say that. We made a game. You can put it in the record.

Mr. MOTTL. Without objection, it will be placed in the record. [See p. 193.]

Ms. CHARREN. It helps parents determine the amount of TV their children watch. We don't think that's the only problem. We think it is a fact of life that children are watching television, and it also is a fact of life that each station is licensed in the public interest, that that license to use the public airways for profit has a responsibility that goes with it. We think that each station should program for children and that that should not be confined to Saturday morning.

It is not really in the public interest to put all your children's eggs in that very tiny basket and expect them to turn off the set the rest of the week. We don't expect that of parents.

It wouldn't work to have all children's programing all week and just adults' programing for one prime time evening, and we think that is sort of what is happening to children.

The one station in the market, that independent or UHF station that serves children, plus the public broadcasting preschool programing in the afternoon is not enough for that 2- to 11- or that 2- to 15-year-old audience which includes preschoolers, elementary school-age children and young adolescents.

Mr. COLLINS. Dr. Radecki, of all these reports I was particularly impressed with yours. You have offered a lot of specific comments I disagree with some of them. For instance, you suggested that we have more national public access channels and fund them with public money. With this country running $100 billion in debt and with cable providing 40 frequencies, I would be very reluctant to adopt that suggestion.

Right below it, you said that municipal ownership of cable television should be encouraged. That one is 100-percent right. I did not realize laymen were getting involved in this subject, but the closer you get to the grassroots the more people are going to be in touch with it.

You had a lot of comments. I want to tell you that I am on your side.

Rev. WILDMON. I am glad to know somebody is.

Mr. COLLINS. I heard the rest of them get out the tar and feathers. In our church they talk about drinking whiskey and drinking beer. Half the members listen and half of them do not, and you can be a deacon in our church and still drink cocktails, but they still get up and talk about it. Those of them that want to get the message, get the message.

I think this idea of coming out on the right side is the most constructive that I have heard about in television in the last 20 years. In other words, they are responsive to the marketplace and you are not passing any laws. You are just saying that you ought to make it the viewers' prerogative.

Unions have done that for years. If you do not like their beer and you are not giving them the right shot they will tell everyone don't drink their beer.

If we can constructively come out and take a positive step to protest what represents poor training material for our children—it absolutely shakes me up what it is doing to America.

The best thing I ever did for my family was turn off the television at 6 o'clock every school night, and all my children did well in college, too. That just happened to be a rule we had in our house.

Suppose you tell us something else about what you all propose to do. This had nothing to do with the first amendment.

Rev. **Wildmon**. Our approach protects the first amendment. The networks came along crying censorship. Censorship implies somewhere some governmental intervention. We are not asking for that, never have asked for it. All in the world we are saying is if you like a program, watch it. Let the advertiser know. In fact, oddly enough, the former chairman of the FCC said the same thing. He said the only thing you can do is not simply turn it off but let people know who is responsible, that is the advertisers.

If the masses are there, and I am convinced they are, we will be successful.

Now you asked me to tell you what we plan on doing. I cannot speak any farther than that. I think we hashed that ball around good enough. I think you probably are aware of what we have planned, that is, an economic boycott.

The next time we go with that we are not going to play with it any more, because our patience has been interpreted as weakness, and I do not come out of that value system. When I was first starting this and had only my organization involved I did talk of some boycotts because I knew that all I would do basically would be to give companies some bad PR.

There is enough involved in the coalition now, and I may be wrong, but I am telling you what I perceived to be the truth, I may be completely wrong, but I think the coalition now speaks for enough people that a boycott could have some very definite effect, and it is not something that you play around with mislead people with. It is something that you are very serious and very careful about using.

Mr. **Collins**. Dr. Radecki, could you just sum up in a half minute, what is the worst thing about violence in television? What is the worst effect on the American people?

Mr. **Radecki**. The worst thing is the tremendous amount. It is not anyone specific show, any one specific act. It is like Mr. Marks pointed out, the effects are multiple, especially on imitation of violence, desensitization to violence, and stimulation of fear and anxiety to the people, fear of violence.

A recent study showed that one out of nine thought that a group of college students had during the day had to do with violent thoughts of fear of violence. This has permeated our mind so much that—another study showed that there was a doubling in the amount of anxiety among college students that were directed to watch 26 hours of violence a week. I think that violence, desensitizes so that even this subcommittee does not take it seriously enough. I think we need to undo that desensitization and consider this issue very seriously.

Mr. **Wirth**. Thank you very much, Doctor.

The gentleman from New York.

Mr. **Scheuer**. Mr. Wildmon, you made some references to religious discrimination at some time affecting religious programing. Could you elaborate on that and give us some specifies?

Reverend **Wildmon**. I think what you are seeing on television is a result of the value system of the people who are responsible for putting it there. I have become acutely aware, when I first started in this when I was watching television with my family, when I turned it off when I could not find anything on the free channels, and for 3 years, in fact after that was 3 or 4 months ago, I was opposed to the sex and violence. That was the problem. I still am. That concern was a valid concern, but it was too narrow.

As I look at television I know that there are 50 million people in this country that regularly attend some religious house of worship, but I rarely see that on television in a modern setting.

Now in "Little House on the Prairie" they do, but the farther you go from modern times the more you will see religion depicted on television; the closer you get up to modern times the less it is depicted. And the more often it is depicted it is the weird, the occult, like "Carrie" and the "Omen," or "Damien 2," the "Exorcist," some of these programs.

Ben Stein did a couple of years' research in Hollywood and wrote a book called, "The View from Sunset Boulevard," and you should read it. He said among other things television is not only antibusiness, et cetera, et cetera, but one of the chapters he had in there, and it does not take long to figure it out, you can identify certain mentalities by the fruits of their labor that religion did not play a part on television.

Stein summed it up. I think basically he said that at best religion is something to be tolerated, at worst is a very dangerous thing. Since that time I have had some conversation with people in the Hollywood community and they confirmed that these people, if they are not nonreligions, they are antireligious.

Mr. **Scheuer**. Who are these people?

Reverend **Wildmon**. The people responsible for the programing, the producers, the people who supply the programs. Stein said a small number, he said in the low hundreds. I think that is right. I would say it is longer than that.

Mr. **Marks**. Would the gentleman yield?

We may have interpreted your remarks to suggest that certain religion was responsible for that.

Reverend **Wildmon**. No, sir, not certain religion.

Mr. **Marks**. It is the fact that religion is not portrayed accurately?

Reverend **Wildmon**. Yes, sir, what I intended to say is this, our whole of society has been basically in the past predicated upon the Judeo-Christian heritage. Our whole moral culture comes out of this, our law. I do not have any facts and figures, because this is a whole new ball game, but from what I can see and from what I have talked with some people who know I am led to believe that if a person wanted to get into the production that supplies films to the networks regularly, this kind of thing with some kind of moral perspective behind it, value perspective behind it other than what we now see, that they would have a very difficult time breaking into that circle.

Mr. **Scheuer**. Well, Reverend Wildmon, I watch television every day because I work out on an exercise bicycle every day. During the week it is from 6:30 to 7, and on at least two of the four or five channels that I switch around to I find religious programs from 6:30 to 7:00. There's two of them at least. And Sunday morning virtually all of the channels carry religious programs, fundamentalist religious programs, including one by a very articulate black fundamentalist preacher every Sunday morning. It seems to me that specially fundamentalist religion is very well represented on television.

Reverend **Wildmon**. You misunderstand my point, sir. I was talking about network entertainment programs. I was not talking about specially produced programs.

Mr. **Scheuer**. What do you mean by network entertainment? You mean there is not enough religion in entertainment?

Reverend **Wildmon**. No, sir, I am not saying that. What I am saying is the value systems depicted in the programs. Harvard University did a study that said that 70 percent of all allusions to intercourse in the network programs depicted sex between unmarried people or involved a prostitute. I am saying that is not real life, and yet we are told by the networks that what they depict is real life. I am saying that is not. I am saying the artist puts into the work his own values. I am saying what we are seeing on television are the values of the people who are responsible for it being there.

Mr. **Scheuer**. Thank you, sir.

With whatever time I have left, let me direct a question to Ms. Charren.

We are at the brink of a communications revolution. Instead of just a few channels we are going to have dozens, perhaps hundreds of channels. With this new diversity and with these new choices and new options are we going to get less violence or more violence? Are we going to get better children's programing? Are we going to get more listenership for those programs?

For example, on Saturday morning where you have "Sesame Street" on the education channel and rather medicore programs to put it most charitably on a few networks, where you have the option of a "Sesame Street" program on Saturday morning, what percentage of young kids watch "Sesame Street" as against the rather banal cartoons? Will more options improve the situation or will the situation deteriorate with more options?

Ms. **Charren**. I think that the degree to which the situation improves with more options, and more options are always desirable, is the degree to which the FCC and Congress and the citizens who participate in the franchising process in local cable franchises cause the system to be responsive to the needs of children, the various systems.

The experts who know more about economics than I do say that the marketplace does not work for children or the elderly and my work with Action for Children's Television, our concern is children, but certainly this is true with some other groups.

Mr. **Scheuer**. How could the Congress properly and sensibly require the FCC to be more sensitive to the needs of children and the elderly as we have this explosion of options in the home?

Ms. **Charren**. First of all, for a little while at least, the television stations that we usually see without cable are going to provide a lot of the programing that people watch. Although cable is in 27 percent of American households now, it is mostly the very-few-channel systems, the under-20-channel systems, which means that there is not a lot of opportunity for diversity and access yet.

Until that happens, certainly the television station should be held to the same standards for children as they are for adults.

ACT has filed a petition that is 10 years old now at the Federal Communications Commission. They will probably act on it shortly. Unfortunately with the way the Commission is going it looks like they are going to deregulate this issue, too. I certainly hope not, because although they do not have to make a rule and in this climate one would not expect them to, certainly children are entitled to the same processing guideline that presently exists for adults. We have to do news and public affairs for adults on each television station now. We suggest that the same kind of mandate for children would be perfectly appropriate and not content-sensitive.

I do not want to use up too much time, but that is an example.

Mr. **Scheuer**. Thank you, Ms. Charren.

Mr. Chairman, the time is very late, and I would ask unanimous consent that all members be enabled to ask members of this panel and the preceding panel questions that come to mind in writing. I would like to ask the other members of this panel the same question that I asked Miss Charren. I would like permission for us to address my questions to the previous panel on broadcasting any questions that were raised by this panel.

Mr. **Wirth**. We will hear from Mr. Marks.

Mr. **Marks**. Thank you.

I want to thank those of you today who came and prepared yourself with your statements and studies that you have made. In one way or another they have all been helpful to us on an issue that is extremely complicated.

Before asking a couple of questions of you, Dr. Gerbner, just to help amplify your suggestions as to what we can do, because that is perhaps our primary concern at the moment, I would like to go back to you, Reverend Wildmon. I want to be sure that the statement that you made to this congressional panel in your statement we fully understand.

I tried to jot it down while you were talking and I did not get it all, unfortunately, but you said something about you thought religious discrimination was outlawed in this country, and then you went on to make some sort of a statement that we ought to be looking to see who is behind television, perhaps movies you mentioned, programing and the like. And I thought that my colleague from New York was getting at that, but I am not sure you answered that even though I injected the question.

You are not suggesting to this congressional panel, are you, that any one religion, either Catholics or Jews or Protestants, are responsible for what you claim to be excessiveness in programing?

Reverend **Wildmon**. Not in the slightest, sir. I am suggesting that the absence of people with those views is basically the reason that the programs are like they are. That is what I am suggesting, that basically the absence of the Judeo-Christian value system—that somehow it is weeded out. That is it. Am I clear now?

Mr. MARKS. I want to take it one step further. Then I think you went on in answer to my colleague from New York's question about that you did not think anybody with those qualities or those concerns could get into the business, I think you told us.

Reverend WILDMON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MARKS. Did you really mean to tell us that you think that in the communications industry either the writers or programers or networks or cables or whatever they are will not allow people to work in those areas that have the same ideals that you and I might have?

Reverend WILDMON. No, sir, what I said was that at a decision-making level, that is—obviously there are some people with those values in the system. The system is big. But what I am saying is if you really boil it down what you have got is, I would imagine, and I do not want to pull a number, but it would be an extremely small number of production companies supplying the networks with their program, and you have an extremely small number of people making decisions.

Mr. MARKS. Are you telling us that the reason that you believe—at least as far as your criticism of programing is concerned in the industry—that this is because people who have the same ideals that those of us sitting here have are not able to become writers or produce programs that the networks will use? Is that what you are saying?

Reverend WILDMON. I am saying that they are not able to go through the process that production companies, producers have to go through to get their material bought and sold; yes, sir.

Mr. MARKS. So if we take that another step, what you are suggesting is that people who have these ideals and backgrounds of the Judeo-Christian community, that the people who are writing and therefore producing programing do not have them? Is that what you are suggesting?

Reverend WILDMON. I am saying that basically somewhere along the way they are not visible in the television content; yes, sir.

Mr. MARKS. They may have them, it just does not come out in their writing; is that what you are saying?

Reverend WILDMON. Let us back up and go a little further. I am suggesting that what you see on television comes out of the value system of the people who put it there, and I am suggesting that much of what comes out of television does not come out of the Judeo-Christian perspective; yes, sir.

Mr. MARKS. And you relate that to the fact that the people who have that Christian background cannot get into the areas where they can write so that those programs can be purchased by commercial television; is that what you are saying?

Reverend WILDMON. That is right; yes, sir.

Mr. MARKS. Have you made any study of that or have any actual figures on this?

Reverend WILDMON. No, sir, I prefaced my remarks——

Mr. MARKS. That is a rather extreme indictment of many people throughout the communications field.

Reverend **Wildmon**. I realize that. It was not made casually. It was made over a period of time, and I prefaced my remarks that it might be wise for this committee to study this.

Mr. **Marks**. What would you suggest we study—the religious belief of the people in the communications area?

Reverend **Wildmon**. No, sir, I think it would be wise for you to study how the whole process works from beginning to end.

Mr. **Marks**. Specifically, if we were to have a hearing, who would you suggest we call in and ask these questions? Should we ask them about their religious beliefs?

Reverend **Wildmon**. You can go on and on about this, sir. I think religious beliefs are a part of our society just like sex and violence are a part of our society. I think with a given religious perspective, Judeo-Christian perspective, you have a certain concern, a certain value system. I think when you are devoid of that, when you look upon religion as being something that is dangerous at worst and something you should simply put up with at best, I think you have some religious perspective there, too.

Some value system is going to prevail. Now you can write that down. Some value system is going to prevail. What I see prevailing on television is not the Judeo-Christian value system. It is a sacrilege value system. It is one that really looks down upon the really just person.

Mr. **Marks**. Do you charge the heads of the networks and the cable companies and the writers and the programers and all those people who work in the communications area that make the programing possible with the lack of this Judeo-Christian value system?

Reverend **Wildmon**. I am not charging anybody with anything, sir. I think this is a situation that exists. Whether it is intentionally or by accident I do not know, but I think if it is by accident it can be corrected.

Mr. **Wirth**. Thank you very much, Mr. Marks.

Next we will hear from the gentleman from Washington, Mr. Swift, or would he defer to the lady from Illinois, Mrs. Collins?

Ms. **Collins**. Thank you very much.

Dr. Gerbner, I think my question is addressed to you. On page 4 of your testimony, the second testimony I saw, "On the whole, television tends to favor majority-type characters and to further aggression. TV violence depicts these transgressions presumably not to subvert but on the contrary to cultivate the norm of the social order." And then you give an example. "Research shows that when women and minority types encounter violence on television they are more likely to end up as victims than the majority types."

Do you want to explain that further for me?

Mr. **Gerbner**. Well, I think you read it very well.

Ms. **Collins**. Well, I would like a further explanation.

Mr. **Gerbner**. We have studied now for 14 years the kind of world that entertainment and network television presents. We have taken the census of characters, the cast of characters, we have taken a count of actions, success and failure, including victimization and aggression.

We find that on the whole, white males in the prime of life are vastly overrepresented compared to their proportion in the population.

Young people, older people, nonwhites, and women are also correspondingly underrepresented. The entire world consists of three times as many men, three to four times as many men as women.

If and when they get into an act of violence white males, who are most likely to get into violence because they are the most numerous, are also the most likely to come out on top. Their ration of victimization is the lowest.

As you go into minority-type characters, starting with women, then nonwhite women, then old women, their rate of victimization goes up very sharply.

So we find that one of the effects of exposure to this world is to generate a differential sense of fear and apprehension, which is what leads me to one of my conclusions, that one of the deeper problems of violence is the cultivation of a differential sense of fear.

Ms. COLLINS. Or of aggression?

Mr. GERBNER. Yes, which makes the majority of a certain group practically victimized before anything happens, take on the role of the victim, which makes it very easily possible other members of the same group or other groups to oblige them and to perpetuate violence.

Ms. COLLINS. You mentioned costs further back in your testimony. You stated, "The real questions that must be asked are not just how much violence there is, but also how fair, how just, how necessary, how effective, and at what price?" Are you saying that the price to the well being of our society is much too high?

Mr. GERBNER. Is much too high. I would agree with almost everyone who has thought about the subject that violence is a legitimate artistic and informational expression. The question is not only how much, but in what proportion, what kind, and with what effect is it being portrayed.

On the whole it seems to be an anxiety cultivating if not pacifying exercise. But the price in terms of inequity and in terms of the facilitation of aggression is much too high, and I do not think any society has ever been asked to pay that high a price for the legitimate function that the portrayal of violence often performs.

Ms. COLLINS. Thank you.

Reverend Wildmon, when you were giving you testimony, I understood you to say that you thought some of the violence was going to go off television within the next year or two. Do you have benchmarks of time that you are going to employ for your boycott? Or do you just have a strong feeling that it is going to disappear?

Reverend WILDMON. I think if violence becomes economically unattractive the networks will give us an alternative.

Ms. COLLINS. Let me ask you a question about the economically unattractiveness. Correct me if I am wrong, but I get the impression from what you have said here that because of various beliefs that people you know might have, they are going to boycott the products sold on television programs that they deem to be violent; is that right?

Reverend **Wildmon**. I think the American public has for some time been concerned about this thing. I think that is indicative in that this committee has been having hearings over the years. I think the American public is frustrated because it is a delicate situation.

Ms. **Collins**. So are you telling them to boycott the products of the commercials that are aired on programs that you dislike for one reason or another?

Reverend **Wildmon**. We have not told them that, but we are advocating that that is a viable, legitimate alternative.

Ms. **Collins**. Is it not a viable, legitimate moral alternative for individuals to make that decision for themselves? For example, I do not have any problem with anyone deciding for themselves what they want to do but I do have a problem with them saying that I cannot watch this show on television because they think——

Reverend **Wildmon**. That is rather shallow thinking. Nobody can decide what you want to watch except yourself.

Ms. **Collins**. That is right.

Reverend **Wildmore**. Except the networks are going to tell you what your options are.

Ms. **Collins**. They give you the options, that is true.

Reverend **Wildmon**. Nobody determines for you what you are going to watch except you.

Ms. **Collins**. That is right. And therefore, why is it necessary to have a boycott such as the kind you are advocating?

Reverend **Wildmon**. Because we are concerned about the effect it is having on our society, and we do not want you passing laws, and this is the same reason that the blacks boycotted earlier. You see, it is a legitimate tool or moral tool.

Ms. **Collins**. It is a legitimate tool, but it does not deny me the right to make the decision on my own.

Reverend **Wildmon**. Nobody can make the decision of what to watch in your home but you. That is exactly right.

Ms. **Collins**. But the public has the ultimate choice, and that is to turn the television set off if they do not want to watch it.

Reverend **Wildmon**. Right, and they have the right to turn the billfold off and on. The whole program is voluntary. Nobody is going to tell anybody what to do.

Ms. **Collins**. Just suggest.

Reverend **Wildmon**. Of course. If you share this concern, here is what you can do.

Ms. **Collins**. Is the power of suggestion strong?

Reverend **Wildmon**. I do not know. That is a rhetorical question. I do not know.

Ms. **Collins**. It is not a rhetorical question, it is one I think we ought to think about a little bit.

Dr. Radecki, I was very shocked, and yet I understand why you feel as you do, when I read the last page of your testimony. You said, "I and very pessimistic that this Congress will do anything to control media violence or to promote the public interest. I fully expect it to continue to take stpes which result in the promoting of violence"—now that is a heck of a statement. You go on by saying by cutting funds for public TV, allowing commercialization of TV, blocking access to violence and so forth. Then you say that you doubt that big money powers will allow national consumer channels or public access channels to get more knowledge about this.

Why do you make such a strong statement?

Dr. **Radecki**. Well, that is the past history of this committee. There was a vote in 1977 that failed by 8 to 7 to indeed take some action. And I think that even if this committee did pass by a majority vote to take some action, such as voting for adjustable locks to blank out violent programs, or a dot on the television during violent programs or any substantial action, I do not think it would pass the House or Senate. If passed, I am sure it would be vetoed by the President. That is just the facts.

Ms. **Collins**. That the big money powers would not allow the national consumer channels or public access channels?

Dr. **Radecki**. If you are aware of the actions right now that the broadcast industry is taking in the FCC to gut all the different rules and regulations and the efforts and the bills currently in the hopper in this Congress to outlaw, for instance, municipalities owning cable stations, which would mean St. Paul, Minn. would have to divest their ownership of a cable station, I am sure one would have to be a pessimist. I am sure you are aware of the laws being passed by this Congress to cut funding and to increase commercialization of public broadcasting. These are definitely things that are happening right now, and there is research that shows that viewing of public television causes a decrease in violent behavior amongst the viewers.

Yes; I think that public television is the least expensive antiviolence program that this country has and we should not cut funding for public broadcasting, but we should have two noncommercial public broadcasting networks and not just one, such as England does.

Ms. **Collins**. Thank you.

I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. **Wirth**. Thank you, Ms. Collins.

The gentleman from Washington, Mr. Swift.

Mr. **Swift**. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and without denigrating anyone's testimony I would like to say that I think that the testimony of Mrs. Charren was absolutely superb.

Ms. **Charren**. Thank you very much.

Mr. **Swift**. We sit in these hearings and listen to witnesses describe the problems endlessly and then walk away and say it is your problem, solve it. I think pages 4, 5, and 6 of your testimony will be some of the most useful pages in the record. I do not agree with all of them, but some of the things that you have recommended, your whole approach is a responsible one and I am very impressed and I want to commend you and your organization for taking that kind of approach to this problem.

I have a question. I notice that Dr. Pearl's testimony and comments about the study were very careful and very qualified. I notice that the testimony of Dr. Radecki tends to make more sweeping kinds of statements as to the conclusions of the various studies to which you referred. I would appreciate it if either or both of you could tell me why there is that difference in style in terms of reporting the evidence of scientific study.

Dr. **Pearl.** Well, it may be a matter of personal style to start with. I do not know. But I felt it was my role to try to give forth the conclusions of a group which had studied the entire scientific literature, on that basis to try to represent the data and its complexity and the fact that we did arrive at a conclusion, the fact that there are some areas about which not all the evidence is yet in and that dealing with human beings, it may be that we will never amass sufficient certainty about some areas to satisfy everyone.

Nevertheless, we are satisfied that there is a causal connection in temrs of television influences. We cannot necessarily spell this out on an individual basis. We cannot say that these influences are going to cause any single individual to react to televised violence or any other behavioral influence in a particular way.

Mr. **Swift.** I would like to make it clear that I do not think that someone should seize upon a qualification here or a little subtle distinction there and then wave the report around and say it does not prove anything. I do not think that would be a responsible way to deal with it, but I did like the measured kind of way you presented the information in contrast to the kind of sweeping statement. Perhaps Dr. Radecki is here more as an advocate, and you are here more as a reporter for a Government agency. Is that a fair distinction to make to the stylistic differences between the presentations?

Dr. **Radecki.** I think there is some truth to that. At the same time I think that there is, factually, some percentage of violence in real life that is coming from the direct and indirect effects of television violence. This percentage has not been specifically calculated, but as I pointed out in reviewing the various studies, that there are minimum calculations in various studies and there exists a specific amount for society as a whole and a different amount for each person or subgroup in society.

What I am trying to point out is that this is a substantial influence and this needs to be taken very seriously. The estimates I make are estimates only, but they are estimates based upon the research.

Mr. **Swift.** I would like to conclude, Mr. Chairman, with an observation, and I do not know that there is a question or if I put a question mark at the end of it anybody can really comment on it.

I have thought about this over a lot of years. I have often wondered if we are not falling for the soda water fallacy. The guy goes into a bar and has eight bourbons and soda and has a terrible hangover. And the next night he has scotch and soda, eight, terrible hangover. The next night he has nothing but brandy and soda, and gets a very bad hangover. He thinks about that and decides to cut out soda.

In other words, are we looking at the content of television and overlooking the fact that the very existence of television may be what has changed, irrevocably, life on this Earth?

I did not understand for a lot of years what Marshall McLuhan meant about the media when he said "The medium is the message." I think I do now. I think if you could reduce the levels of anxiety to something between Captain Kangaroo and Mr. Roberts it still would have changed society considerably. The amount of time we watch the damn thing. If you sit in the home with your family there, your relationship is with the television set and their relationship is with the television set, not with each other. You have TV trays designed to put your food on while you are eating so you do not have to stop watching the television. And as long as the television programing is compelling enough to draw a massive audience whether it does that by sex or violence or any other means, that may be the greatest harm that it does. And what we have been talking about today is, in fact, incidental to the basic problem. Short of training ourselves to use the off button or somehow making the technology disappear, our whole society is going to have to learn to adapt to something that man has never had to deal with before.

A quick example, my wife has taught school for 20 years, and in that time television has really grown to its maturity. When she first started teaching, a child would never think of just getting up in the middle of a presentation by the teacher and walking out of the room. They will do that now. She thought, is this lack of discipline? Are they not trained at home? They are rude. She concluded that you get up and walk out on the television set anytime you want to. The idea that you are supposed to focus when you get to school is a confusion that develops. That can occur whether you are watching "Sesame Street" or a rerun of "The Untouchables." I do not know where that leads up except I think some kind of a sense that what we have been talking about is the tail of a tiger that we have got ahold of and we should not assume it is the whole tiger.

Dr. Pearl?

Dr. **Pearl**. I think you have expressed it very well. That has been the concern of the group that I have been working with. In our work, we reviewed a great many aspects of television's influence and how it has changed both the individual's functions and aspects of our society.

Just as an illustration, we plan in our update report to have 10 chapters. Only one of the chapters is designated specifically as dealing with the topic of this hearing, that is, with violence per se. The other chapters mostly involve other aspects of television's influence. So I think you have really caught, I think, the spirit of what many people are concerned about, that television has become a very potent socializing agency which has to be classed along with the family and the school as shapers of people, their behavior, what they know, what they think to be appropriate and so forth.

Mr. **Swift**. And mind you that does not make this conversation any less important, but I think it puts it in a kind of context which suggests that we ought to be careful in our frustration of what television is doing to us that we do not take an ax to the tail of the tiger and think we have accomplished something. We may have accomplished a little bit, but it is the other end of that tiger that is ultimately going to get us.

Mr. **Gerbner**. Mr. Chairman, may I just suggest that to the extent the Congressman is correct, the more important television is and the more of a change it brings about in our life, then the more important its content becomes. The question now is how are we going to use this new national curriculum, and just as with any national curriculum, the existence of the curriculum does not absolve people from the necessity of thinking about what is it going to say and do to whom.

Mr. **Mottl**. Is it fair to say, Dr. Pearl, that in the upcoming Surgeon General's report that after having examined the evidence even in more detail over another decade that there is a definite causal relationship between violence on television and aggressive behavior in society?

Dr. **Pearl**. Yes. We have come to a unanimous conclusion that there is a very definite relationship.

I need to make one correction here. This update that I have been talking about was encouraged by the previous Surgeon General, but we plan it to come out as a report from the National Institute of Menatl Health.

Mr. **Mottl**. Thank you very much. The Chair on behalf of the entire subcommittee would like to express its deep appreciation for your spending your precious time with us and sharing with us your information on this subject. I think it is going to be extremely helpful to the subcommittee. Thank you very much for being here.

[The following statement was received for the record:]

THE IMPACT OF TELEVISED VIOLENCE ON THE ATTITUDES, VALUES AND BEHAVIOR OF YOUNG VIEWERS

A Submission to the
Subcommittee on Telecommunications
United States House of Representatives
Hearings on Television Violence

by

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Communications & Public Service Division
The Boys Town Center

INTRODUCTION

Concern about the potentially harmful effects of viewing televised violence was one of the first issues to surface during the early days of television broadcasting. Congressional investigations began in the 1950's (e.g., House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1952; Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 1955) and, as this hearing demonstrates, have continued for more than 25 years.

One reason for this extended and extensive dialogue between legislators and the television industry is the fact that social scientists have only gradually developed a body of scientific evidence that can be addressed to the important questions raised by the public through their legislators. Indeed, during one of the early hearings, an eminent communications scholar, Professor Paul Lazarsfeld, noted that social scientists knew little about the general effects of television on children and even less about the specific effects of televised crime and violence on juvenile delinquency—the focus of that committee's investigation (Lazarsfeld, 1955). However, during the past 25 years almost 900 studies and reports have been published concerning the impact of televised violence (Murray, 1980). Thus, it seems clear that we know considerably more now than we did in the 1950's and the investigation undertaken by this Subcommittee provides an opportunity to reflect on this accumulated knowledge.

In this submission, I should like to describe the ways in which social scientists have studied the impact of televised violence and the implications of this body of research for public policy and private action.

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ANSWERING QUESTIONS ABOUT TELEVISION VIOLENCE

Social scientists who have studied the content of television programs have clearly demonstrated that the average viewer is likely to witness numerous violent acts portrayed on the screen. Extensive content analyses by researchers at the University of Pennsylvania have shown that the amount of violence on the three commercial television networks has remained at consistently high levels for the past 13 years (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1980). For example, in 1978, 98% of all children's programs contained some form of violence with 25 violent acts occurring during each hour of children's viewing. These figures declined somewhat in 1979, but overall the level of violence has remained fairly steady since 1969 with about two-thirds of all male characters and about half of all female characters involved in violence. The types of violence portrayed on the screen and cataloged in these content analyses range from destruction of property to physical assaults which cause injury and death.

The logical question that arises from these content analyses is: To what extent are viewers--particularly young viewers--influenced by the violence they encounter on their television screens? To answer this question we need other types of information provided by other kinds of studies. Moreover, this large question about the effects of viewing violence implies several component questions about the nature of the viewers, the nature of the effects, and the ways in which these two aspects influence each other. It might be best to begin with the question about the nature of the viewers.

Are Viewers of Televised Violence More Aggressive?

In a typical study concerning this question, the investigators interview children about their favorite television programs or obtain a diary of the programs viewed and then attempt to relate the child's television viewing patterns to his or her aggressive behavior as measured by a variety of scales or observations. Thus, the central feature is the correlational nature of the information, that is, the investigators ask how far these two things co-relate or go together.

The weight of evidence is fairly consistent: Viewing or preference for violent television programs is related to aggressive attitudes, values, and behavior. This result was true for the studies conducted when television was new and the measures of children's aggression were teacher's ratings. And it is still true of the more recent studies when the measures of aggressiveness have become more sophisticated. To choose two studies as examples: John Robinson and Jerald Bachman (1972) found a relationship between the number of hours of television viewed and adolescent self-reports of involvement in aggressive or antisocial behavior. Bradley Greenberg and Charles Atkins (1977) used a different measure of aggressive behavior. They gave 9 to 13-year-old boys and girls situations such as the following: Suppose that you are riding your bicycle down the street and some other child comes up and pushes you off your bicycle. What would you do? Hit them, call them a bad name, tell your parents/teacher, or leave them? These investigators found that physical or verbal aggressive responses were selected by 45% of heavy-television-violence viewers compared to only 21% of the light violence viewers.

It seems clear that viewing televised violence goes with aggressive or antisocial behavior. It could be, however, that children who are more aggressive to start with prefer the more violent programs. We need a different kind of study to find out which is the cause and which is the effect.

Does Televised Violence Produce Aggression?

The major initial experimental studies of the cause and effect relation between television/film violence and aggressive behavior were conducted by Albert Bandura and his colleagues (e.g., Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1961; 1963) working with young children, and by Leonard Berkowitz and his associates (e.g., Berkowitz, 1962; Berkowitz & Rawlings, 1963; Berkowitz, Corwin, & Heironimus, 1963) who studied adolescents.

In a typical early study conducted by Bandura (e.g., Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1963), a young child was presented with a film, backprojected on a television screen, of a model who kicked and punished an inflated plastic doll. The child was then placed in a playroom setting and the incidence of aggressive behavior was recorded. The results of these early studies indicated that children who had viewed the aggressive film were more aggressive in the playroom than those children who had not observed the aggressive model. These early studies were criticized on the grounds that the aggressive behavior was not meaningful within the social context and that the stimulus materials were not representative of available television programming. Subsequent studies have used more typical television programs and more realistic measures of aggression but basically Bandura's early findings still stand.

A later study by Robert Liebert and Robert Baron (1972) was addressed to the criticisms of earlier research by studying young children's willingness to hurt another child after viewing videotapes of sections of standard typical aggressive or neutral television programs. The boys and girls were in two age groups, 5 to 6 and 8 to 9 years-old. The aggressive program consisted of segments of The Untouchables, while the neutral program featured a track race. Following viewing, the children were placed in a setting in which they could either facilitate or disrupt the game of an ostensible child playing in an adjoining room. The main findings were that the children who viewed the aggressive program demonstrated a greater willingness to hurt another child. The effect was stronger for the younger children than the older ones: That is, the younger children pressed the HURT button earlier and kept it depressed for a longer period of time than did the older children.

That finding may not seem surprising. The Untouchables is a very violent adult program. One could ask, Does the same effect hold for cartoons? The answer seems to be yes. Several studies have demonstrated that one exposure to a violent cartoon leads to increased aggression (Ellis & Sekyra, 1972; Lovaas, 1961; Mussen & Rutherford, 1961; Ross, 1972). Moreover, another study (Hapkiewitz & Roden, 1971) found that boys who had seen violent cartoons were less likely to share their toys than those who had not seen the aggressive cartoon.

It seems clear from experimental studies that one can produce increased aggressive behavior as a result of either brief or extended exposure to televised violence, but questions remain about whether this heightened aggressiveness observed in a structured setting spills over into daily life. One must turn to more natural settings in order to assess the seriousness of the effect.

What Happens in Natural Settings?

In more natural studies, the investigator evaluates the effects of television programs viewed in normal setting, such as at school or home, on behavior that takes place in the real world, such as a school playground. The investigator controls the television diet either by arranging a special series of programs or by studying a town before and after the introduction of television.

One such study was conducted by Aletha Stein and Lynette Friedrich (1972). These investigators presented 97 preschool children with a diet of either "antisocial," "prosocial," or "neutral" television programs during a four-week viewing period. The antisocial diet consisted of 12 half-hour episodes of Batman and Superman cartoons. The prosocial diet was composed of twelve episodes of Mister Roger's Neighborhood. The neutral diet consisted of children's travelogue films. The children were observed through a nine-week period which consisted of three weeks of previewing-baseline, four weeks of television exposure and two weeks of postviewing-follow-up. All observations were conducted in a natural setting while the children were engaged in daily school activities. The observers recorded various forms of behavior that could be regarded as prosocial (i.e., helping, sharing, cooperative play) or antisocial (i.e., pushing, arguing, breaking toys). The overall results indicated that children who were adjudged to be initially somewhat aggressive became significantly moreso as a result of viewing the Batman and Superman cartoons. Moreover, the children who had viewed the prosocial diet of Mister Roger's Neighborhood were less aggressive, more cooperative, and willing to share with other children.

This finding, too, may not seem very surprising given the condition of the heavy violence viewing levels in the aggressive cartoons, but one might ask whether such results are still found when the variation in television diets occurs naturally rather than by special arrangement. As one part of a major research program in Canada, Tanis MacBeth Williams (1979) had an opportunity to evaluate the impact of televised violence on the behavior of children before and after the introduction of television and to compare these children with their peers in two other towns where television was well-established.

The three towns were called Notel (no television reception), Unitel (receiving only the Canadian Broadcasting Commission), and Multitel (receiving both the Canadian and the three U.S. networks). Children in all three towns were evaluated when Notel did not receive a television signal and again two years later when Notel had television. The children, ranging in age from 6 to 10, were observed on the playground in play with classmates and their behavior ratings of aggression were obtained from teachers and peers. One major result of this study was a marked increase in verbal and physical aggression in children living in the Notel town following the introduction of television.

Are All Children Affected?

We get a clearer picture on this score when we know more about the way children watch televised violence. For example, Ekman and his associates (Ekman, Liebert, Friesen, Harrison, Zlatchin, Malmstrom, & Baron, 1972) found that those children whose facial expressions while viewing televised violence depicted the positive emotions of happiness, pleasure, interest, or involvement were more likely to hurt another child than those children whose facial expressions indicated disinterest or displeasure.

Further details about the nature of watching emerge in a Swedish study by Linne' (1971). Working with 5-to 6-year-olds, Linne' compared children who had seen 75% or more of the regularly scheduled broadcasts of *High Chaparral* with those children who had seen half or less of the series. She found that a higher proportion of the "high-exposure" group chose an aggressive mode of conflict resolution than those in the "low-exposure" group. She also found that the high-exposure children differed from the low-exposure children on a variety of important dimensions. For example, she noted that "high-exposure" children watched more television than the low-exposure children. Furthermore, those children who were more aggressive were likely to be the ones who went to bed immediately following the viewing of *High Chapparal* while their peers who chose the non-aggressive solutions were more likely to stay up and play before going to bed.

It would seem that factors relating to individual differences in the personality or the home environment of children can result in variation in effects of television. Not every child becomes involved in murder and mayhem following exposure to such material on television, but what of the more subtle, longer-term effects of viewing televised violence?

How Long-Lasting Is the Effect?

The long-term influence of television has not been extensively investigated. However, one study (Hicks, 1965) conducted in a controlled setting demonstrated that children remembered the televised behavior over a six-month period. In another study, Monroe Lefkowitz and his colleagues (Lefkowitz, Eron, Walder, & Huesman, 1972) were able to follow-up a group of children over a ten-year period. The investigators obtained peer-rated measures of aggressive behavior and preferences for various kinds of television, radio, and comic books when the children were eight years-old. Ten years later, when the members of the group were 18 years-old, the investigators again obtained measures of aggressive behavior and television program preferences. Eron (1963) had previously demonstrated a relationship between preference for violent media and the aggressive behavior of these children at age eight. One question now posed was: Would this relationship hold at later ages? The results for boys indicated that preference for television violence at age 8 was significantly related to aggression at age 8 (r = .21) but preference for television violence at age 18 was not related to aggression at age 18 (r = .05). A second question posed was: Could adolescent aggressiveness be predicted from our knowledge of the youngsters viewing habits in early childhood? The answer seems to be, yes. The important finding in relation to this question is the significant relationship for boys between preference for violent media at age 8 and aggressive behaviour at age 18 (r = .31). Equally important, is the lack of a relationship in the reverse direction, that is, their preference for violent television programs at age 18 was not produced by their aggressive behavior in early childhood (r = .01). The most plausible interpretation of this pattern of correlations is that early preference for violent television programming and other media is one factor in the production of aggressive and antisocial behavior when the young boy becomes a young man.

More recently a study by William Belson (1978) has substantiated the long-term effects and has helped pin down which types of programs are the more harmful. Belson interviewed a representative sample of 13-to 17-year-old boys in London. The 1965 boys were interviewed on several occasions concerning the extent of their exposure to a sample of violent television programs broadcast during the period 1959 to 1971. The level and type of violence in these programs were rated by members of the BBC viewing panel. Therefore, it was possible to obtain for each boy, a measure of both the magnitude and type of exposure to televised violence (e.g., realistic, fictional, etc.). Furthermore, each boy's level of violent behavior was determined by his own reports of how often he had been involved in any of 53 categories of violence over the previous six months. The degree of seriousness of the acts reported by the boys ranged from only slightly violent aggravation to more serious and very violent behavior, such as: "I tried to force a girl to have sexual intercourse with me; I bashed a boy's head against a wall; I threatened to kill my father; I burned a boy on the chest with a cigarette while my mates held him down."

Approximately 50% of the 1965 boys were not involved in any violent acts during the six-month period. However, of those who were involved in violence, 188 (12%) were involved in ten or more acts during the six-month period. When Belson compared the behavior of boys who had higher vs. lower exposure to televised violence and who had been matched on a wide variety of possible contributing factors, he found that the high-violence-viewers were more involved in serious violent behavior.

Belson also found that serious interpersonal violence is increased by long-term exposure to (in descending order of importance): a) plays or films in which close personal relationships are a major theme and which feature verbal or physical violence; b) programs in which violence seems to be thrown in for its own sake or is not necessary to the plot; c) programs featuring fictional violence of a realistic nature; d) programs in which the violence is presented as being in a good cause; and e) violent westerns. On the other hand, programs which are removed from the immediate experience of these boys, such as science fiction, were not implicated in the production of violence in teenagers. On the basis of this research, which was undertaken at the request of and supported by CBS, Belson made the following three recommendations:

> 1. Steps should be taken as soon as possible for a major cutback in the total amount of violence being presented on television. 2. A by-product of the inquiry was evidence sufficient for formulating provisional guidelines for the use of programmers in identifying the more damaging forms of television violence.... ...3. A regular monitoring service should be established to provide periodic analyses of the amount and kind of violence that is being presented through television ... (Belson, 1978)

Can Televised Violence Ever Be Helpful?

There have been some suggestions, mostly emanating from the television industry, that the viewer by vicariously experiencing the violent emotions portrayed on the screen, can be purged of his or her aggressive feelings (a process often called catharsis). The most plausible and straightforward answer to the question "Can television violence be cathartic?" is, no. That is, of course, a simplification, but only a slight simplification. The first reason for saying "no" is the weight of the evidence reviewed thus far. If televised violence is so often increasing aggression, it is hard to argue that it is in any significant way involved in decreasing aggression. The second reason is the fact that the one study claiming to find a catharsis effect (Feshbach & Singer, 1971) has been seriously questioned on methodological grounds (Liebert, Davidson, & Sobol, 1972; Liebert, Sobolt, & Davidson, 1972), and a replication of the Feshbach and Singer study failed to support the notion of catharsis (Wells, 1973).

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Although there have been a few studies that have failed to find a strong relationship between viewing violence and behaving aggressively (e.g., Feshbach & Singer, 1971; Milavsky, Kessler, Stipp, & Rubens, 1981), the overwhelming preponderance of studies reviewed in this submission and elsewhere (e.g., Pearl, Bouthilet, & Lazar, 1981) support the conclusion that viewing televised violence can lead to increases in aggressive attitudes, values, and behavior. In commenting on the accumulated evidence, Albert Bandura, a pioneering researcher and former president of the American Psychological Association, stated, "Television serves as a powerful tutor. The evidence suggests that many children are more likely to behave aggressively when they have been exposed to TV aggression than when they have not" (Murray & Lonnborg, 1981). Moreover, Bandura's comments have been echoed in the official policy statements of psychological societies that have been asked to comment on the impact of television violence in Australia and Canada (Australian Psychological Society, 1978; Ontario Psychological Association, 1977).

It is clear that there are ample reasons for concern about the potentially harmful effects of televised violence, but it is less certain what can or should be done. Certainly, public discussion of these issues, such as that provided by these hearings, can have an influence on public opinion through the presentation of research and commentary. And the television industry, from time to time, has been responsive to public expressions of concern. For example, an analysis of 13 years of commercial television by researchers at the University of Pennsylvania documents a modest decline in the level of violence broadcast during the 1971 to 1973 seasons. This temporary decline in the violence level is often attributed to the pressures generated by adverse public opinion resulting from the Surgeon General's investigation of television violence which began in 1969. However, the fact that levels of television violence escalated in 1974 and have continued to remain high, despite some fluctuations, over the succeeding years suggests that there must be competing pressures on the industry to include large amounts of violence in their program schedule. The industry often states that one of the pressures for continued violence is the public's demand for such programming, but research has shown that this is not true--researchers at the University of Illinois have shown that neither program popularity, based on the Nielsen ratings, nor program preferences were related to the amount of violence in the program (Diener & DeFour, 1978). So, we must look elsewhere for explanations of the industry's attachment to violence. Probably one of those reasons is the matter of economics and convenience—it is simply easier for script writers to outline brawls, high-speed car chases, and gun battles than to write intriguing dialogue or develop penetrating and moving characterizations. And so, public discussion alone is likely to be of minimal effectiveness.

What are some other ways in which the level of televised violence might be reduced? Recently, various civic and religious groups have suggested boycotting the products of firms who advertise on the more violent shows. The boycott proposals have ranged from informal public awareness campaigns, consisting of the publication of lists of advertisers and their association with violent programs, to more structured and elaborate appeals for public participation in the boycott. These tactics, if highly organized, might succeed in reducing the level of violence on television, but they would succeed at a very expensive price, namely, the transfer of control of broadcasting from the television industry to the advertising industry. It is questionable whether there is much to be gained from substituting Proctor & Gamble for NBC.

Other approaches have proposed regulatory action, such as calls for a prohibition on violence during particular time periods. Although regulation did not emerge, discussions between the Federal Communications Commission and the television industry resulted in the formulation of the "Family Hour" in which only programming suitable for family viewing would be broadcast during specified periods on all three networks. Born in 1975, the family viewing period died in 1976 following a court challenge by the Writers Guild of America (Cowan, 1978). Therefore, it is unlikely that calls for formal or even informal regulatory action would be considered an acceptable way of bringing about changes in the level of televised violence.

In the final analysis, the options for public policy and private action are severely restricted. Given the unacceptability of public policy directed toward regulatory control and the questionable benefits to be derived from private action focused on boycotting sponsors' products, one is left with private action of "innoculation" and public policy of "persuasion."

The options for private action might include increased parental involvement in establishing family viewing patterns and increased parental/public involvement in the local television environment--both broadcast and cable. Efforts to change the home-based television environment can be encouraged through school system and local chapters of citizen and consumer groups. For example, school systems may have access to "critical viewing skills" curricula that are designed to help young viewers cope with the harmful effects while appreciating the benefits that television viewing can provide. However, private action could also include attempts to change the community-based television environment by participating in cable franchising discussions and community advisory committees for local television stations.

The persuasive influence of public policy might include periodic review of the levels of televised violence coupled with discussion of the industry's response to public concern over this issue. Other components of persuasion might include encouragement of structural changes in the broadcast system, such as those associated with cable and low-power TV, which may result in a diversification of program production and a simultaneous specialization of programming for particular audiences such as children and youth.

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[Whereupon, at 1:45 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

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